

Thesis on
"RELIGIOUS REVIVALS IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY"

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NOTE: Due to my unfamiliarity with British spelling I have used the
American standard spelling.

To

MYRTLE LECKY GRIMSHAW

My Wife

"Sharer of the Way"

PREFACE

"The frontiers are not east
or west, north or south,
but wherever a man fronts
a fact." - Thoreau.

The purpose of this dissertation is to face frontiers. Living in a basically dynamic world every generation is faced with the necessity of re-examining and re-interpreting the fundamental facts of life. This must be done in the light of the best knowledge available in every realm of human endeavor. Religion cannot escape. It too must be continually re-studied and re-evaluated.

It was in the light of such facts that the writer had long considered making a study of the phenomenon of religious revival. I was much pleased upon talking with my Edinburgh professors to learn that such a topic would be acceptable as a subject for a doctoral dissertation. Since 1930 I have labored upon such a study.

Some explanation seems advisable to make clear my method of presentation of material. Prof. W. P. Paterson urged me to follow the method used by William James in his Varieties of Religious Experience; namely, to quote freely from original sources in order to give specific examples of the points which I was seeking to make clear. This I have done with great care.

I had not been long engaged upon the study until I realized that it is one eclectic in form; one which demands that one enter into a great number of related fields. Furthermore, I soon found that a knowledge of French and German was essential as some of the best sources are in those languages with no available translations.

Previous work in these languages proved invaluable.

It also soon became evident that all the books on the subject were not available in Scotland. It was therefore necessary to have access to a large American library for certain American sources. It was my good fortune to return to America shortly after the completion of the magnificent Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University where I gained access to otherwise inaccessible sources.

As far as I can discover this is the first attempt to make a comprehensive study of the subject; although hundreds of books and articles have been written dealing with some phase of the subject. It seemed well, therefore, to make the bibliography somewhat encyclopedic so as to have gathered in one place this widely scattered material. On the other hand, while the bibliography is quite extensive I have perused a great many sources not listed. It is my hope in the future to be able to compile a completely annotated bibliography on the subject of "Revivals".

In cases where I have not had access to a source, but have quoted it second-hand that source does not appear in the bibliography, but only in the footnote with credit given to the author by whom it was quoted. In like manner, a source which is used for a passing reference is listed only in the footnote.

At this point it seems well to mention my method of giving references. The notes are a very important part of the dissertation. At various points in the discussion issues are opened up which cannot be fully discussed within the limits of this dissertation. I have therefore indicated in the footnotes other sources which deal with

the subject under discussion. At certain points where there is a difference of opinion on the subject I have indicated where treatment from an opposite or somewhat differing point of view may be found. Due to typographical difficulties it was necessary to place the notes at the end of the chapters rather than at the bottom of the pages.

To acknowledge my indebtedness to all those who have contributed to the study would be a difficult task. For access to certain French and German sources otherwise unavailable I am indebted to the staffs of:

The Bibliotheque Nationale - Paris, France.
The Library of the University of Heidelberg - Germany.

I have also had access to the following British and American libraries:

The University Library - Edinburgh
The University Medical School Library - Edinburgh
The Library of the Royal College of Physicians - Edinburgh
The Library of the Royal College of Surgeons - Edinburgh
The Free Public Library - Edinburgh
The New College Library - Edinburgh
The Scottish National Library - Edinburgh
The Library of the British Museum - London

The Free Public Library - New Haven, Conn.
The Sterling Memorial Library - New Haven, Conn. (Yale)
The Trowbridge Divinity Library - New Haven, Conn. (Yale)
The Sneath Library on Rel. Educ. - New Haven, Conn. (Yale)
The Day Missions Library - New Haven, Conn. (Yale)

The Library of the College of Emporia - Emporia, Kansas.
The Library of Kansas State Teachers' College - Emporia.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Hugh Watt of New College, for his kind help when beginning my work; also to Dr.

A. Mitchell Hunter who gave unstintingly of his time that I might have access to all sources available in New College. My thanks are also due to Dr. Harry Miller, and especially to Drs. Hywel T. Hughes and W. P. Paterson, my advisors, whose kindly interest and constructive criticism are greatly appreciated.

Finally, it is with a deep sense of appreciation that I acknowledge the contribution of Mrs. Lulu C. Hart, librarian of the College of Emporia, and of my wife, Myrtle Lecky Grimshaw, who has assumed added responsibilities in order that I might have more time for this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>C. C. N. C.</u>	A. C. Underwood: <u>Conversion, Christian and non-Christian</u>
<u>D. R. S.</u>	W. M. Mackay: <u>The disease and remedy of sin.</u>
<u>E. H.</u>	L. F. Benson: <u>The English hymn.</u>
<u>E. R. E.</u>	J. Hastings: <u>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.</u>
<u>G. A. V.</u>	W. M. Gewehr: <u>The Great Awakening in Virginia</u>
<u>G. R. W.</u>	C. C. Cleveland: <u>The great revival in the West</u>
<u>H. C. C.</u>	L. F. Benson: <u>The hymnody of the Christian church</u>
<u>H. D. B.</u>	J. Hastings: <u>Dictionary of the Bible</u>
<u>I. P. R.</u>	R. H. Thouless: <u>An introduction to the psychology of religion.</u>
<u>M. M. C.</u>	J. Rogues de Fursac: <u>Un mouvement mystique contemporain</u>
<u>P. C. S.</u>	G. Stevens: <u>The Psychology of the Christian soul</u>
<u>P. M. E.</u>	J. Howley: <u>Psychology and mystical experience</u>
<u>P. M. R.</u>	S. G. Dimond: <u>The psychology of the Methodist revival</u>
<u>P. P. C.</u>	G. B. Cutten: <u>The psychological phenomena of Christianity</u>
<u>P. R.</u>	E. D. Starbuck: <u>The psychology of religion</u>
<u>P. R. A.</u>	E. T. Clark: <u>The psychology of the religious awakening</u>
<u>P. T. R. R.</u>	F. M. Davenport: <u>Primitive traits in religious revivals</u>
<u>Q. R. P. R.</u>	H. Bois: <u>Quelques reflexions sur la psychologie des reveils</u>
<u>R. C.</u>	J. B. Pratt: <u>The religious consciousness</u>
<u>R. I.</u>	H. S. Dyer: <u>Revival in India</u>
<u>R. P. G.</u>	H. Bois: <u>Le reveil au pays de Galles</u>
<u>S. R. A.</u>	W. W. Sweet: <u>The story of religions in America</u>
<u>V. R. E.</u>	Wm. James: <u>Varieties of religious experience</u>
<u>W. R. R.</u>	V. J. Morgan: <u>The Welsh religious revival, 1904-5.</u>

"Every age seems to be dominated by some special branch of science, into terms of which it translates most of its thought. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we had the mathematical sciences with the Age of Reason as their resultant and a Religion of Enlightened Persons. The nineteenth was ruled by Biology, and spell-bound by the 'blessed word' Evolution. But Psychology is sovereign in the twentieth." - F. R. Barry.

INTRODUCTION

A. A brief consideration of the rise and development of the science of the psychology of religion.

Approximately a half century ago Religion "which had seen every other department of human life and activity succumb to the conqueror, Psychology, was in turn subjected to the scalpel and scrutiny of science."¹ From 1882 when Dr. G. Stanley Hall of Clark University published his pioneer article,² until the present time, the interest in this subject of the psychology of religion, and the output of books upon it, have continued to increase.

(1) The contribution of the American school.

(a) Early writings.

Credit for the early impetus must be given to Dr. Hall and the men he drew around him at Clark. We owe much to Burnham,³ Daniels (153), and Lancaster (334), even though their contribution was chiefly to pedagogical theory,⁴ and still more to Starbuck,⁵ and Leuba (348). Starbuck published the first really elaborate scientific study of religious phenomena,⁶ a book which "marked an epoch in the history of American religious psychology."⁷

Contemporary with the valuable contributions of the Clark University group was the work done by Gulick,⁸ and Coe (130). It remained, however, for the inimitable William James to popularize the subject by his now classic Gifford Lectures delivered at Edinburgh at the beginning of this century.⁹

(b) More recent developments.

From 1903 onward the literature has grown by leaps and bounds₁₀ so that we have excellent American studies made by Moses (419) in 1906, Pratt (459) in 1907, and (460) in 1924, Reudiger₁₁ also in 1907, Tawney (557) and Cutten (151) in 1908, Marshall (398) in 1909, King (323) and Ames (40) in 1910, Leuba (345) in 1912, Kate (319) in 1915, Coe (127) and Snowden (524) in 1916, Stratton (545) in 1918, Wright (639) and Strickland (546) in 1924, Hickman (274) and Josey (313) in 1926, Mahoney (395) and Jordan (312) in 1927, and Dresser (175) and Clark (120) in 1929.

(2) The contribution of British thinkers.

British scholars also have contributed to this great movement as evidenced by the work of Galloway (219) in 1909, Stevens (537) in the Cunningham Lectures of 1911, Stalker (528) in the James Sprunt Lectures of 1914, Swisher (553), Howley (285), Guttery (251) and Annett (44) in 1920, Pym (465) in 1921, Thouless (563) in 1923, Selbie (507) in 1924, Paterson (441) in his famous Gifford Lectures delivered at Glasgow in 1924-5, Underwood (585) and Mathews (403) in 1925, Edward (189) in the Kerr Lectures published in 1926, Flower (209) in 1927, Valentine (588) and Pitts (454) in 1929, and Lang (335) in 1931.

(3) The contribution of Continental scholars.

Although the science of the psychology of religion was born and seems to have flourished best in America, and while excellent work has been done in the field by British scholars, the inves-

tigations of certain continental authorities must not be ignored. The French represented by Delacroix¹², Flournoy¹³, Allier (39), and Revault-D'Allones¹⁴; the Germans by such men as Oesterreich (435) and Wobbermin (635); the Danes by Schou (500) and the Italians by De Sanctis (165) have added much to our knowledge of the subject.¹⁵

It is interesting to note concerning the listed books, that of those published since 1900, thirty deal with the psychology of religion in general, four with mysticism, two with the more pathological aspects of religious life, and ten with conversion. Thus there was published in a little more than thirty years, a total of forty-six books to say nothing of hundreds of articles.

B. A study of the work done on the psychology of religious revivals.

In the foregoing discussion any books dealing with the phenomenon of the religious revival have been deliberately ignored. However, as an outgrowth of this interest in the psychology of religion we would expect attention to be centered upon the ever-recurring phenomenon of religious revival.

(1) The work already done.

Almost one hundred and fifty years before psychology was considered a distinct science certain notable contributions to the study of revivals had been made by Jonathan Edwards. Out of his observations of two important revivals which occurred during his ministry in Northampton, Mass., the first in 1734 and the second in 1740, Edwards published three very important books: A Narrative of Surprising Conversions, Thoughts on the Revival in New England, and

A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections. The first of these was read, in the English edition, by John Wesley, thus no doubt greatly influencing the character of the Wesleyan revival.¹⁶ Of the third book a recent writer has said: "Whoever would understand aright the Psychology of Mass Movements in Revivals, which lay hold of communities and pass the boundaries of nations, and even stir continents to their depths, as in the Crusades and at the Reformation, must read Edwards' great work."¹⁷

For more than a century and a half the works of Edwards stood in splendid isolation as the only studies on the psychology of revivals.¹⁸ Finally in 1905, Frederick M. Davenport broke the silence with his book, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals. Its sound scholarship was immediately recognized and it has long been the standard work on the subject, being copiously quoted by all later writers.¹⁹

The same year saw the publication of a dissertation by a French writer on the psychology of the early American revivals.²⁰ This work had little circulation and was seemingly soon lost from view.

It was no doubt because the interest of the religious world became centered in 1904 on the Welsh revival that three volumes on revivals were published within the next three years. Prof. Bois of Montauban made a trip to Wales during which he made careful observations. Upon his return to France he published a study of the Welsh revival²¹ and a psychological study of revivals in general.²² Although these works have been somewhat quoted by later writers they

have by no means been paid the attention which they merit. In 1907 another French writer, Rogues de Fursac, contributed to the subject,²³ but his work, too, has been in general ignored.²⁴

Two years later there appeared a book by James Burns under the caption, Revivals: Their Laws and Leaders. The book is a popular presentation of the revivals which had occurred up to and including the Evangelical revival. Only the first chapter actually deals with the psychology of revivals.

From 1909 until 1926 not a single book appeared devoted to the subject. In the year 1926, however, there again appeared a book which was the amplification of a dissertation. This study by Dimond²⁵ deals with the psychology of the Wesleyan revival. Dimond treats the character and personality of Wesley from the standpoint of a Behaviorist.²⁶ His discussion of the revival shows also the influence of that school.

Previous to this time a number of brief studies of the psychology of revivals had appeared as chapters in books which in the main dealt with other subjects. One of these, however, by Pratt²⁷, is without doubt the best and most scholarly study on the subject. Like Davenport's book it has become a classic.

(2) The need for further study of this phenomenon.

From the foregoing resume, the paucity of scholarly work on the psychology of revivals in general is immediately evident.²⁸ A passing glance will reveal that only two writers have attempted complete and exhaustive scholarly studies of this important phenom-

enon.²⁹ Both studies appeared in French, and as no English translations have been made, their influence has not been widely felt.

The need for new research on this important subject is evident. Psychology of religion has proved itself an important ally to religion in the gaining of new truth. On every hand there is a demand for, and prognostication of, a new revival of religion. Men are seeking to know what form it will take.³⁰ Again, a great deal of water has run under psychological bridges since Davenport, Bois, and Rogues de Fursac published their studies. Vast new areas of thought have been opened up in recent years; the Unconscious, of which William James spoke in rather primitive terms has now gained new meaning and content through the work of such men as Freud, Rivers, Pfister, and Myers³¹; phenomena such as glossolalia, visions, hysteria, etc., can now be examined in new light; the psychology of the crowd is much better understood than in the day of Le Bon's great contribution.

C. The purpose and plan of the present study.

With so much new material with which to work, the re-evaluation of this important subject seems exceedingly worth while. The following study will, then, attempt to understand the psychology of religious revivals, not in the light of any one school of psychological thought, but in the light of the newer understanding of truth made possible by the research of many men. The writer has no special thesis to defend, but approaches the subject as one reverently seeking to understand and interpret a great religious phenomenon.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Adapted from A. R. Uren: Recent Religious psychology, p. 1.
2. The moral and religious training of children, Princeton Review, Vol. 9, - (New Series) - (1882) - p. 26-45.
NOTE: Throughout the rest of this introductory chapter any reference recorded in the Bibliography will be listed by number following the name of the author.
3. W. H. Burnham: A Study of Adolescence, Pedagogical Seminary, Vol. 1 - No. 2 - (1891) - p. 174-195
4. See W. B. Pillsbury: The new developments in psychology, Philosophical Rev. - Vol. 26 - (1917) - p. 56-69
5. A study of conversion, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 7 - (1896-7) - p. 268-308, also in the same journal, Some aspects of religious growth, Vol. 9 - (1897-8) - p. 70-124
6. The psychology of religion.
7. A. R. Uren: op. cit. p. 6
8. Luther Gulick: Sex and religion, Association Outlook, Vol. 7 - (1897); -quoted from A. R. Uren: op. cit. p. 7
9. Varieties of religious experience.
10. For more detailed accounts of the rise and development of this interest in a scientific study of religion see: J. B. Pratt: The psychology of religion, Harvard Theol. Rev. - Vol. 1 - (1908) - p. 435-454; W. S. Bruce: The psychology of Christian life and behavior, p. 29-32; A. R. Uren: op. cit. p. 1-9; Elmer T. Clark: The psychology of the religious awakening, p. 18-20; W. B. Selbie: The psychology of religion, p. 3-7.
11. W. C. Reudiger: The period of mental reconstruction, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 18 - (1907) - p. 353-370
12. H. Delacroix: Etudes d'histoire et de psychologie du mysticisme.
13. T. Flournoy: Les principes de la psychologie religieuse, Archives de Psychologie, Vol. 2 - p. 33-57, also in the same journal, Observations de psychologie religieuse, Vol. 2 - p. 323-366
14. G. Revault-D'Allones: Psychologie d'une religion.

15. Mention should be made of the contribution of the Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie. This journal was established in 1907 under the editorship of Dr. Johannes Bresler, in Halle, and appears monthly. It has continued to do what the Journal of Religious Psychology and Education attempted before its untimely demise.
16. E. R. Hendrix: Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley, Meth. Rev. Quar. - Vol. 62 - (1913) - p. 28-39; quoted by W. M. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790, p. 6
17. W. S. Bruce: op. cit. p. 28
18. This is not to ignore such works as C. G. Finney: Lectures on revivals of religion, Albert Barnes: Lectures on revivals, G. Wilkinson: Pentecost, or the revival of the work of God, H. C. Fish: A handbook of revivals. Although these are interesting books and contain a certain amount of wise instruction they cannot be classed as scholarly studies of the psychology of revivals.
19. It is rather significant that this book was the expansion of a dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the faculty of Political Science at Columbia University, New York City.
20. Jacques Kaltenbach: Etude psychologique des plus anciens reveils aux Etats-Unis.
21. H. Bois: Le reveil au pay de Galles.
22. H. Bois: Quelques reflexions sur la psychologie des reveils. This work first appeared as articles in Revue de Theologie, - Vol. 14 & 15 - (1904-1905)
23. Dr. A. J. B. Rogues de Fursac: Un mouvement mystique contemporain.
24. "The narrative of Jonathan Edwards' work is invaluable to-day, whereas that of the Welsh Revival given for homiletic purposes has already ceased to be of worth to the historian. But the books of Professor Bois and of Professor Rogues de Fursac on the same are of permanent value." G. Stevens: The psychology of the Christian soul, p. 203 (The italics are mine)
25. S. G. Dimond: The psychology of the Methodist revival.
26. Ibid: p. 17
27. J. B. Pratt: The Religious Consciousness, Chap. 9, "Crowd Psychology and Revivals," p. 165-194. Other brief studies, by no

means as important as the one by Pratt and yet worthy of mention are A. T. Fryer: Psychological aspects of the Welsh Revival, Proc. of the Soc. for Psychical Research - Vol. 19 - (1905-07) - p. 80-161; G. B. Cutten: The psychological phenomena of Christianity, Chap. 12, "Contagious Phenomena," p. 163-173, and Chap. 13, "Revivals", p. 174-195; George Stevens: op. cit. Chap. VI, "The Soul in the Mass Movement of a Revival", p. 186-229; W. S. Bruce: op. cit. Chap. 10, "Religious Mass Movements", p. 127-140, and Chap. 21, "The Psychology of Evangelism", p. 259-266.

28. In this account no attempt has been made to consider those studies dealing with the history of revivals. In this field there are available many scholarly studies from Tracy's: The Great Awakening; a history of the revival of religion in the time of Edwards and Whitefield to the very latest by Gewehr: op. cit. These will be found listed in the bibliography.
29. It must be remembered that Davenport studied revivals only as they revealed primitive traits.
30. For evidence of this from the more conservative point of view see any issue of The Christian Herald and Signs of Our Times (British) for 1931; from the more liberal point of view see J. W. Stevenson: (Editor) The Healing of the Nation, or L. A. Weigle: The New Paganism and the coming revival, Yale Divinity News - Vol. 27 - (1930) - p. 1-2.
31. Some sense of this rapid progress is gained when it is recalled that in 1907, Coue the co-founder of the New Nancy school was still working in his chemist's shop; that in 1908 the first meeting of the International Congress of Psycho-analysis took place; and that in 1913, Dr. John B. Watson first proclaimed his doctrine of Behaviorism. For a more detailed account of this development see G. S. Brett: History of Psychology, Encyc. Brit. - (14th. ed.) - Vol. 18 - p. 706-720

"It is a mistake to suppose that revivals are peculiar to a few favored sects of Christianity, or even to Christianity. All human communities accepting any possible form of religion - from North American Indians to Arabian Mohammedans - have, at different times, become subject to these phenomena." - G. Lansing Raymond.

CHAPTER I.

THE FACT OF REVIVALS

A. Definition.

It seems important at the very outset of our study to gain some understanding of the term "revival of religion". The word "revival" as applied to religion, is, according to the Oxford dictionary, of rather recent origin. The first recorded use of the term is in the Magnalia Christi Americana of Cotton Mather₁, published in 1702. "It was not, however, till the second half of the same century that the word came into popular use."₂ The early writers on the subject found it necessary to make use of such makeshifts as "the great success of the gospel", "the wonderful conversion," or "the present success of the gospel."₃ Perhaps the fact that the term "revival" suggested certain texts₄, seeming to give it a Scriptural sanction, made for its adoption and use.

In the works of more recent writers the term has been variously defined:

"A revival of religion ought to be understood to mean - an unusual manifestation of the power of the grace of God in convincing and converting careless sinners, and in quickening and increasing the faith and piety of believers." (5)

"By revival we mean an awakening among the people to their spiritual state, a renewed and more active attention to religion." (6)

"Religious Revival is a renewed interest in religion, coming, as a rule, after a period of indifference or decline." (7)

"The phrase "revivals of religion" is ordinarily applied to the spiritual condition of a Christian community, more

or less limited in extent, in which a special interest is very generally felt in respect to religious concerns, accompanied with a marked manifestation of divine power and and grace in the quickening of believers, the reclaiming of backsliders, and the awakening, conviction, and conversion of the unregenerate." (8)

"A religious revival is a general quickening of or in religion in a community or some part of one." (9)

Although there is some variation as to definition, and while it was a long time before a specific name was found, the phenomena themselves had been taking place for many centuries.

Contrary to the impression given by many writers on the subject, revivals have not been confined to Christianity. They are found in all ages, and among all conditions of men. It is our purpose to study them as they have manifested themselves in non-Christian as well as in Christian communities; in Oriental as well as in Occidental countries; and among primitive as well as among highly civilized races.

10

B. Graeco-Roman revivals.

(1) Greek revivals.

As has been pointed out by Pratt¹¹, the ancient Greeks showed a propensity for revivals of an exceedingly emotional type. It requires but a brief study to bear out his contention.

The pagan cult of Dyonisos, which had its original home among the wild tribes of Thrace, and later found its way southward, was introduced into central Greece and nourished there largely through the use of what might be called "revival meetings" - and

these of a very emotional sort.¹² Willoughby has described one such meeting as follows:

"The dances in honor of Dionysus were usually held at night time by torchlight. . . . They were accompanied by the weird music of wind instruments and the clashing of tambourines. Mingled with this strange music were the shouts of the Bacchanals themselves as they waved their torches in the darkness, thus giving to the scene an unearthly light. The dances were wild and irregular and were characterized by a tossing of the head and a violent, whirling bodily motion. Thus, by the very movements of the dance a physical frenzy was quickly induced." (13)

The atmosphere of certain more recent "camp meetings" is reflected in this description by Rose:

"The violent exercise under the stimulating surroundings of their mountainous country in the clear night air would of itself produce an abnormal condition; and this seems to have been further encouraged by the free use of wine and perhaps other artificial stimulants. The result was, at least in many cases, and particularly among their women, a condition of frenzy, involving anaesthesia, abnormal strength and endurance, and other such symptoms, followed by fainting and exhaustion. The natural explanation, to any one at that stage of culture, was that the worshippers were possessed by their God ($\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\chi\omicron\iota$); and therefore we find them called by his name ($\beta\alpha\kappa\chi\omicron\iota$, $\beta\alpha\kappa\chi\alpha\iota$)." (14)

That the purpose of these "revels" was to stir the emotions of the worshippers to such a pitch that they would experience "the phenomena of $\mu\alpha\nu\iota\alpha$, or religious possession,"¹⁵ is borne out by the testimony of Galloway¹⁶, also of Jevons¹⁷, and Farnell.¹⁸ The main idea "was to work upon the worshipper's emotions until he had no control over them, and was swept by the tide of ecstasy which was shared, as he saw, by his fellow-worshippers."¹⁹ Hence, the

stirring of the emotions, and the contagion of the crowd, two prominent elements in revival meetings, were present in these pagan gatherings.

In the Eleusinian Mysteries we find experiences which were more inkeeping with the Hellenic temper, and yet exhibit features of a decidedly revivalistic nature.²⁰ Instead of an appeal to the baser emotions, so characteristic of the Dionysic revels, we find an intensity of religious feeling deliberately aroused through carefully planned ritual and pageantry. The purpose of the Mysteries, we are told, was "to create an overpowering impression by the stimulus of collective excitement and the pageantry of dramatic ceremonial."²¹ Angus points out:

"It (initiation into the Mysteries) was a Sacramental Drama which appealed primarily to the emotions and aimed at producing psychic and mystic effects by which the neophyte might experience the exaltation of a new life." (22)

He further explains:

"The whole ritual aimed especially at quickening the emotional life. . . . The emotions were not neglected in the passion-play either by way of inducing careful predispositions or of supplying external stimulus. Tense mental anticipation, heightened by a period of abstinence, hushed silences, imposing processions, and elaborated pageantry, music loud and violent or soft and enthralling, delirious dances, alternations of dense darkness and dazzling light, the sight of holy emblems, auto-suggestion and the promptings of the heirophant - these and many other secrets of emotional exaltation were in vogue." (23)

Here again appear revival elements; the appeal to the emo-

tions, the urge of the crowd, and the use of suggestion. The same thing held true in the later mysteries such as Mithraism and the Cybele and Isis cults so Cumont₂₄ and Dill₂₅ attest.

(2) An early Roman revival.

During the latter half of the first century (A. D.) and the early part of the second, there occurred in the Roman Empire, a great pagan revival movement. Although Roman society had at this time become more humane and kindly, it had also become more worldly and more materialistic.

"With all its humanitarian sentiment and all its material glories, the Roman world had entered on that fatal incline, which, by an unperceived yet irresistible movement, led on to the sterilization of the higher intellect, and the petrification of Roman society which ended in the catastrophe of the fifth century." (26)

Yet, like many other periods in history, this age was one of contrasts. Basically worldly, it was still ennobled by a powerful protest against worldliness. This protest gathered itself and found expression in the work of a group of men whom Dill has designated as "Philosophic Missionaries."₂₇ A new pagan revivalism was abroad throughout the land. One writer has described this movement, saying:

"As we read its story, we feel that the breath of revival is over the land, and that incurable hunger of the soul for God is driving men in their thousands to listen to the only word of life that most of them had any chance of hearing.

The methods which the representatives of this revival movement employed were just those with which all such

movements make us familiar, and the characteristics of those that reveal themselves in all ages. There were the great preachers, men like Dion, Apollonius, Maximus of Tyre, Demonax of Athens, Peregrinus, (28) and the smaller men, unnamed and unknown, of the Cynics, who pound out into the streets and lanes of the cities like the friars in later ages to feed these hungry sheep. They had their conversions They produced men who dared to rebuke emperors for their sins or their follies." (29)

This revival had a feature common to many which have followed it; it attracted men who sought notoriety and applause. Like many later movements, it had imposters who disgraced it.

"Men who were rude for the sake of being rude, and who sometimes slipped readily enough into the habits they themselves were protesting against; men who loved notoriety and lived upon flattery and worship of their admirers." 30

C. Revivals in Oriental religions.

Oriental religions also provide evidence that religious revival is a phenomenon by no means limited to Christianity. Actual examples of revivals, or revival elements, are to be found in the religious history of Japan, India, and Islam.

(1) In Japanese Buddhism.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (A. D.) there were marked religious revivals in Japanese Buddhism. Honen (1133-1212) and Nichiren (1222-1282) were the prophets responsible for the movements.

In the year 1186 a new military government was established, under a dictatorship. This firm military rule, extending over the whole country, was in strong contrast to the luxurious life and lax administration which had been experienced under the court nobles. In

keeping with the new age, a new type of Buddhism manifested itself. The change which took place is described by Anesaki, a modern Japanese historian:

"The Buddhist religion of the new age was not one of ceremonies and mysteries but a religion of simple piety or of spiritual exercise. Dogma gave way to personal experience, ritual and sacerdotalism to piety and intuition, and this new type of religion exerted its influence beyond class limits, exhibiting many democratic features."
(31)

This change was partly brought about by the introduction of the pietistic faith of Amita-Buddhism, introduced by Honen.³² His religion was "a very simple gospel of salvation by faith."³³ He secured many converts. He gathered about him many disciples who later worked in propagating his gospel among the people. Thus his message penetrated into the remote corners of the country. As has been the case in other awakenings, there were those who ran to extremes. Honen warned his followers against this. Yet in spite of their excesses, the new gospel spread like wildfire. This caused uneasiness on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. Finally, those in authority brought charges against Honen which resulted in his exile.³⁴ Nevertheless, the influence of his strong personality, reinforced by a deep religious zeal, left its impress upon the religious life of Japan. Many had seen him, had heard his message, and had been converted to his faith.

"Among the converts were . . . noble ladies who had been afflicted by the sudden collapse of the pompous court life and aspired after eternal bliss beyond this world; military men who had become disgusted with their warlike

pursuits and sought after spiritual refuge; common people who had long been denied the blessings of deeper spiritual satisfaction and found Honen's gospel a new gateway open to all." (35)

The second revival in Japanese Buddhism was brought about by the preaching of Nichiren³⁶, born in 1222. Shortly after his very dramatic conversion, a series of calamities befell the land. "Storms, inundations, earthquakes, famines, and comets followed one another in swift succession. The people were panic-stricken."³⁷ These catastrophes caused the minds of the people to turn to religion. Nichiren seized this opportunity to point out the degeneracy of the people and the foolishness of the rulers. He placed most of the blame for the miseries of the time upon Amita-Buddhism and its founder, Honen.³⁸ He admonished the nation to become converted to his new religion, which was based on the sermon of the Lotus.³⁹

He put his revival into effect by gathering about him many earnest peasants of the eastern provinces and men of the virile warrior classes. His teaching was a robust revolt against the ritualism and sentimentalism of aristocratic Buddhism. Mainly through the power of his personality, he developed a movement almost unprecedented in the whole history of Buddhism. His revival had many elements so effective in later ones.

"There were itinerant teachers, popular sermons, prayer meetings. . . . Monastery and cottage, hermitage and mansion came into closer touch; religious teachers gave counsel and rendered services in the daily life of the people. Popular propaganda was carried out by Nichiren and his followers. The method first adopted by Nichiren was preaching in streets and parks. Whenever he could get an audience he mounted a platform and preached. His dis-

ciples went into temples and monasteries where their adversaries were preaching or giving lectures and entered into hot debates with them." (40)

His methods opened a new era in the propaganda of Japanese Buddhism, and his followers, who kept to his method, became famous for their aggressive attitude.

(2) In Hinduism in India.

Hinduism, as it expressed itself in India, furnishes us with two excellent examples of Oriental revivals.⁴¹ The first of these is the revival of Bhagavatism under Ramananda, and the second, a revival under Chaitanya, who revolted against the materialism of his day.

Although the revival of Bhagavatism began in the south of India through the teaching of four great leaders, Ramanuja, Madhva, Visnuswamin, and Nimbarka; it was Ramananda⁴², who in the fifteenth century (A. D.), really gave it its force. He it was who carried it to Northern India where it exerted a tremendous influence.⁴³

Like many later revivalists, he heightened his appeal by abandoning the classic language - Sanscrit in his case - and preaching and teaching in the vernacular.⁴⁴ An excellent description of this revival has been given by Grierson:

"We find ourselves in the face of the greatest religious revolution that India has ever seen - greater than that of Buddhism, for its effects have persisted to the present day. Religion is no longer a question of knowledge; it is one of emotion. . . . Northern India was filled with wandering devotees vowed to poverty and purity. Visions, trances, raptures, and even reputed miracles, were every-

day occurrences. Rich noblemen abandoned all their possessions and gave them to the poor, and even the poorest would lay aside a bundle of sticks to light a fire for some chance wandering saint." (45)

Underwood records⁴⁶ that there took place under the preaching and teaching of the revivalist, Ramananda, conversions of both men and women, conversions exhibiting characteristics found in more recent revivals.

The available data on the Chaitanyite revival is very scant. According to Underwood⁴⁷⁴⁸, the leader, Chaitanya, was probably about twenty-four, when, in the first decade of the sixteenth century (A. D.), he was converted and became an apostle of Krishna-bhakti. As a result of this experience he set in motion a religious revival which changed the face of Bengal. This revival inspired countless lives of devotion and won converts from every class of society.

Degenerate Buddhism had spent its day in Bengal. The spiritual life of the people was at a low ebb. Certain pious men, such as Adwaitacharyya, Niyananda, and Harides, disciples of Chaitanya, had been waiting and longing for better times. When the revival came they gladly responded.

Chaitanya made little use of preaching, his revival services depending mainly upon impressing the crowd through singing and dancing.

"Long before the Salvation Army had developed its characteristic methods Chaitanya had employed in Bengal and Orissa enthusiastic singing in chorus as a prime means of

propagating devotion to Krishna. His methods were essentially those of a revivalist. . . . He won men by a tempest of emotion and devotional praise." (49)

The meetings were in the form of sankirtans, consisting mainly of enthusiastic dancing and singing in chorus with instrumental accompaniment. Chaitanya's method of gathering an audience and welding it into a psychological crowd would do credit to many later revivalists.

"He would enter a town or village and begin to dance with arms uplifted and to sing Krishna's praises, either in the open road or in the courtyard of some friendly householder. A crowd would gather, and he would proceed to manifest extreme emotion, laughing, weeping, trembling, perspiring, and shouting Krishna's name. He would cry out: "O Govinda, (50) where is my Krishna? Get him and bring him. Show me where is Krishna, my life!" The climax came when he fell down on the ground, and after rolling over and over would lie as though the life had gone out of him." (51)

Crowd contagion usually got in its deadly work. It is recorded that at times whole crowds being swept off their feet professed faith in Krishna.⁵² Not only so, but after once seeing the ecstasies of Chaitanya, many "could not return home, as they became almost mad, chanting Krishnas name, dancing, weeping and rolling on the ground."⁵³ Many who came to scoff found themselves irresistibly compelled to yield.⁵⁴

(3) Among Moslem worshippers.

The pilgrimages to Mecca made by the adherents of Mohammedanism furnish many scenes full of religious emotion, and exhibiting many of the characteristics of later revivals. One such scene is

vividly described by Khan₅₅, who, as a newspaper reporter for a British daily₅₆, took part in the great pilgrimage to Mecca in 1902.

The author records that many thousands of Moslem pilgrims stood in the sweltering sunshine, bare headed, and with naked feet, for the service of the Day of Arafat.

An imposing cavalcade of soldiers, barbarously dressed, and gallantly mounted, first made way for His Holiness, the Sheriff of Mecca, and his household. When this cavalcade was stationed, guns were fired again and again to announce that the sermon was about to begin.

"Amid the sighs and sobs and tears of that vast congregation the Kazi of Mecca, sitting on a dromedary, began to preach, or (perhaps more correctly) to pray. Speaking in Arabic verse, each line being repeated about a dozen times by the pilgrims he intoned the rhythmic psalm in a deep but ringing voice.

Thou, O lord, no mate possessest:
 Thou, in truth, the King of kings!
 I am here for Thee - for Thee:
 I am here with praise for Thee.

 May the angels of mercy show their
 grace to us!
 May our humble supplications be
 acceptable to Thee!
 We glorify and praise Thee, Lord! (57)

The effect of the massing of the people and their intense interest in the proceedings soon made itself evident by manifestations such as are often found in Christian revivals.

"At first the pilgrims held their breath, afraid of missing a word; but as the prayers and psalms and exhortations proceeded, their enthusiasm grew more and more unrestrained. No longer content with repeating the Kazi's words, line by

line, they burst into tears, and from tears into shrieks. They beat their breasts, sobbing from sheer excess of joy; they could be seen, on the plain, whirling round and round, as they sang the Labbaik." (58)

Before long many of the pilgrims swooned, partly through the delirium of religious emotion. Even the reporter (Khan) found his reason almost taken captive by the appeal of those about him.⁵⁹ Still the meeting was prolonged.

"Another hour went by: the sun was sinking in the west: . . . still the preacher gave out his message to the ever-increasing excitement of the people." (60)

When the sermon finally closed, the excitement became greater than ever.

"The uproar was deafening: drums were beaten, bugles called us to make haste, and rocket after rocket exploded as it whirled through the air. . . . The Egyptian Mahmil took the right-hand side of the road and the Syrian the left: after them charged the mounted pilgrims, followed by those on foot, all and each showing the same reckless determination to press forward over every obstacle, no matter how narrow the road might be." (61)

No better example of a crowd motivated by religious fanaticism to a point of utter recklessness could be desired.

"Women and men swooned in the crush and were trampled to death - litters were overthrown and smashed to pieces - camels were trodden under foot: but neither disaster nor death could, in the slightest degree, glut the wild desire by which the crowd was moved - the desire, namely, of being more completely possessed by the feeling of a religion-wrought delirium. It was not a triumphant procession of peaceful pilgrims, therefore, though that is undoubtedly what it should be; it was a charge of religious madmen running amok." (62)

D. Biblical revivals.

Practically all books on revivals, written from a theological point of view⁶³, have stressed the part played by revivals in the history recorded in the Old and New Testaments.⁶⁴

In Old Testament times, as Stalker points out⁶⁵, with the opportunities for bringing crowds together, at annual feasts, with their minds bent on religious exercises, and under the guidance of such great personalities as Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, and Ezra, it was only natural that there should come periods of definite "revival". Stalker further remarks that, "The Feast of Tabernacles especially, with its booths of green branches, must have resembled a camp-meeting."⁶⁶ It is easy to believe that these meetings partook of other "camp-meeting" features.

Although there are revival elements recorded in the books of Joshua⁶⁷, I Samuel⁶⁸, and II Chronicles⁶⁹, it is not until we come to the history of the struggle of the religion of Jahveh against "imported" religions that the distinctive revival appears. The revival under Josiah⁷⁰ can well serve as an example.

Josiah, the grandson of Manasseh, was born in 647 B. C. He ascended to the throne of Judah after the assassination of his father, Amon, in 639. During his reign there occurred the collapse of the Assyrian empire. As Egypt was also weak at this time, Josiah, more than any other king of Judah, was given a free hand in the guidance of his people.

In the eighteenth year of his reign "a reformation took

place which marked an epoch in the history of the national religion."⁷¹ The invasion of Western Asia by the hordes of Scythians cast fear into the hearts of the people of Judah. The prophets⁷² were convinced that this invasion was the instrument of God's judgment against sinful Judah. When, however, the Scythians failed to attack Judah, the people were so relieved, that the prophetic party immediately came into power⁷³, and a movement toward "revival" was inaugurated.

The movement began by a concerted effort to repair the temple. Money was collected from the people and the work was begun in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign.⁷⁴ Shortly after this, Hilkiah, the high priest, announced to Shaphan, the scribe, that he had discovered the Book of the Law⁷⁵ in the temple. When Shaphan had read it, he informed the king of its discovery. The king was alarmed at "the threats made against disobedience to its commands, and by the knowledge that they had so often been transgressed."⁷⁶

A thorough religious reformation took place. Josiah sought to bring the religious practices into conformity with the newly discovered law. At an impressive meeting in the temple, all the people were gathered together, and the law was read to them.⁷⁷ The people pledged themselves to obey the law, and Josiah also assented to a similar covenant. In keeping with this pledge, a reform movement was instituted.

"The reform consisted in the cleansing of the temple from idolatry, in the suppression of idolatry throughout the kingdom, and, most important of all, in the abolition of the high places or local sanctuaries. After it

had been carried through, a great passover was celebrated." (78)

Under this reformation the worship of the people was centralized. They became, for the first time, a people of the Law.⁷⁹

Two movements recorded in the New Testament are worthy of consideration. The first of these is the revival under John the Baptist.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, John the Baptist, the "forerunner" of Jesus, appeared from the desert and began to preach the need for repentance.⁸⁰ The keynote of his message was couched in the words of the prophet, Isaiah.⁸¹ Like many later revivalists, he laid stress upon the fiery wrath of the coming Day of Judgment. His message was in addition social in that he demanded that the people show "fruits of righteousness, sharing their coats and their meat with those that had none."⁸² Although his message was, perhaps at first, directed to those who practiced an ascetic way of life⁸³, in the later period of his preaching the scope of his mission was widened and "he delivered his message to the masses of the people."⁸⁴ It seems evident that this was a mass movement. The words of Jesus are significant, where, in speaking of the work of John, he remarks that many were pressing into the kingdom.⁸⁵ In still another place we read concerning John, that, "There went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the regions round about Jordan, and were baptized in Jordan, confessing their sins."⁸⁶

Of all the Biblical revivals, the one on the Day of Pentecost has exerted the greatest influence upon the character of later movements. The New Testament records this revival as the fulfillment of Jesus' promise made to His disciples upon his ascension, that they should receive power for the work which He had given them to do.⁸⁷ For a description of the events of Pentecost we cannot do better than refer to the biblical account.

"And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven. Now when it was noised abroad, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speak in his own language."⁸⁸

It cannot be denied that this movement, as described above, presents certain difficulties. However, it also provides facts of interest for our present study. The scene is "strictly in the nature of a revival."⁸⁹ Here were gathered together a group of men, who having become the recipients of a great truth, were anxious to tell it to others. The news of strange happenings was noised abroad and a multitude of people assembled⁹⁰ to see what was taking place and to hear what these men had to say. All the features of a psychological crowd were potentially present. Under the preaching of the apostles more than 3,000 were converted in a single day.⁹¹ It is further reported that the conversions were permanent, for the con-

verts continued "daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and with singleness of heart."⁹² Another evidence of the revival's effectiveness is the fact that it paved the way for the establishment of the Christian church.

Most later revivalists in emulating this revival have ignored an important fact, namely, that "laws of the mind were violated in the case of no one; no effect was produced which the truth was not adapted to produce."⁹³ Because this fact has been overlooked, the revival of the Day of Pentecost has been used as an excuse for sanctioning all manner of wild excesses on the plea that such excesses give revivals "apostolic sanction."

E. Revivals in Catholicism.

The appearance of revival movements in the church prior to the Reformation bears witness to the fact that they are not confined to Protestantism. No one can read the story of St. Francis of Assisi, or that of Savonarola of Florence, without realizing that these men were responsible for definite revivals of religion.⁹⁴ Revivals have been, and still are, much in evidence in the Catholic Church.⁹⁵

Turning to more recent times we find that many of the Catholic "missions" and "retreats" exhibit revival characteristics. A writer, in the latter half of the last century, describes a "mission" which he visited in Spain. In this meeting the priest so played upon the feelings of the people as to incite them to tears.

"Then as he took down the Crucifix, and held it out, the sobs which had been gradually increasing burst through the church into loud crying like that of children, while he poured out a fervent prayer, crying bitterly, for himself and for the people." (96)

In a similar meeting the priest, using methods familiar to any who have studied the preaching of Jonathan Edwards⁹⁷, gave a vivid description of the awful fate of a soul cast into Hell. The effect upon the people was tremendous.

"By this time the nerves of the people were so worked up that they were ready to cry about anything or nothing, and at this point one woman by my side actually howled so as to make it difficult for me to hear." (98)

Mob psychology and crowd contagion got in their deadly work, for the writer further says, "How many confessions there have been cannot yet be told; for when once the people began to confess, it was like an epidemic."⁹⁹

What Davenport refers to as "the passional in religion"¹⁰⁰ was more in evidence than "the rational." Meyrick remarks:

"These are such a very excitable people, all feelings and no principles, and have a marvellous way of combining religious feeling with the practice of sin." (101)

That the modern Catholic "retreat" is essentially a revival is the testimony of a contemporary Catholic psychologist.¹⁰² The main object of a retreat is the study of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, which this writer describes as "giving the most complete and organic form of the general scheme of a Catholic revival."¹⁰³ Although the Exercises were originally meant for a month's

retreat involving seclusion and retirement from the ordinary business of life, they have been adapted to meet the needs of the ordinary parochial mission. It is worthwhile to notice the subjects dealt with in various sections of the Exercises.

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"The first week (section) deals with the fundamental truths which reason, without the aid of revelation, admits and proclaims, and which form the solid base of all religious life. . . . The second week deals with the reform of life, and the acquisition of true virtue. . . . The third week is given to meditations on the Passion; the fourth, to the mysteries of the Resurrection and the Ascension. . . . The concluding meditation on the love of God contains, as in a central furnace the motives most fitted to decide the soul to give itself to God, to consecrate itself without reserve to His service." (105)

Although this revival method is different from many we have studied, we must not overlook its importance and effectiveness.

"As to the success of the Exercises as a revival method, let the history of the Catholic Church speak. Saint and sinner, learned and simple, men and women of every country for nearly four centuries have fallen under their spell. . . . To the Catholic, the current of whose life has been changed by a retreat, the experience presents features which leave no doubt in his mind that the finger of God is there." (106)

F. Great Protestant revivals.

As Cutten has pointed out¹⁰⁷, the revival movement in Protestantism can be said to have actually begun with the Great Awakening in New England. There were forerunners, of course, such as the revival in the North of Ireland in 1625, the revival which took place at Stewarton, Scotland, in the same year, and the revival at Shotts, Scotland, in 1630.¹⁰⁸ In the very parish where the Great

Awakening began, Solomon Stoddard, the grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, had five "harvests" - 1679, 1683, 1696, 1712, and 1718. All of these movements were important and were in reality indicators of the great revival storm which was about to break.

(1) The Great Awakening.

The Great Awakening which swept over the English colonies in America had three very distinct phases. The first of these was the New England revival.¹⁰⁹

The second phase of the movement was the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies.¹¹⁰ The leader of this movement was Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, minister of the Dutch Reformed church at Raritan, New Jersey. Working with him were the four sons of Rev. William Tennent, all of whom had been educated at "the Log College."¹¹¹ The movement centered about Gilbert Tennent of New Brunswick, New Jersey.¹¹²

The last phase of the movement was the Virginia Awakening which continued for some years.¹¹³ It began among Presbyterians, then among the Baptists, and finally among the Methodists.

Prior to 1734 religion was at a low ebb in New England although there was reverence toward God and fear of His wrath. Then in the winter of 1734-1735, under Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Mass., there arose a great religious interest which culminated in the Great Awakening.

"In the midst of spiritual deadness Edwards began to proclaim anew the evangelical doctrines. Remarkable conversions followed and Edwards soon had the entire community

under the spell of his preaching. People became deeply concerned about eternal things and came in great throngs to hear him. They even met in private houses day and night to talk religion and to pray for pardon. In six months more than three hundred, or practically the entire population above sixteen years, were converted in Northampton. The revival spread from town to town through the whole Connecticut valley until one hundred and fifty communities in Massachusetts and Connecticut were visited with scenes similar to those which took place at Northampton." (114)

It was, however, under the preaching of Whitefield that the movement reached its height.¹¹⁵ In November, 1739, he arrived in Philadelphia where he found the people eager to hear him; and in 1740 he visited New England where his fame had spread. From that time until his death he travelled from Maine to Georgia a number of times, often speaking many times a day to large audiences. While in Georgia on one of his many visits, he "preached a hundred and seventy-five sermons" in seventy-five days.¹¹⁶ It is stated that out of an estimated population of 2,000,000 then in the colonies, not less than 50,000 people were converted during the Great Awakening.¹¹⁷ Through the untiring efforts of Whitefield this revival did not completely die out until 1770, although the year 1750 marks the last high point.

It is only fair to point out that under the preaching of Edwards much weeping, crying, wailing, shrieking, and fainting took place, which Edwards at first justified. The testimony of Davenport that "the influence of the revival, even at its healthiest center, had not sunk very deeply into character"¹¹⁸ seems well founded. The next fifty years saw the eastern part of the United States reach one of the low water marks of popular indifference to religious and moral

life.

(2) The Evangelical revival.

While the American colonies were experiencing the Great Awakening, a similar movement was getting under way in England.¹¹⁹ It was in the year 1737 that "a little group of Oxford students who had been known as Methodists at the university, moved to London and began to preach to the masses."¹²⁰ It has been asserted that John Wesley, the leader of the movement, had been influenced by the work of Edwards.

The songs of Charles Wesley, and the earnest preaching of John Wesley and George Whitefield came at a time when the reaction which followed the Restoration had led to moral deterioration.¹²¹ Wesley's method of bringing his message to the people was mainly through itinerant preachers. These men travelled definite circuits, preaching wherever an opportunity was afforded, then gathering the converts into small groups for "class meetings". Wesley, himself, maintained oversight of the whole work in Great Britain, and later in America, annually touring the United Kingdom, "travelling from 4,000 to 6,000 miles each year, making during his long life 42 visits to Ireland alone."¹²² Although during the life of Wesley, the Methodist revival was a movement within the church of England, at his death "there were more than 100,000 Methodists."¹²³

Under the preaching of Wesley, who not emotional himself, nevertheless, created emotion in his hearers through his forceful personality, a great many "manifestations" took place. These consist-

ed of "trembling, screaming, and weeping, but principally of falling to the ground and suffering excruciating pain."¹²⁴ The preaching of Whitefield produced similar results. Many times, crowd contagion did its deadly work.¹²⁵ Wesley came to realize the dangers involved in these "manifestations" as is shown by the fact that whereas at first he encouraged them, considering them to be signs of God's favour, he later condemned them as the work of Satan. His good sense may have been responsible for enabling the Methodist movement to make a permanent contribution "not alone to the religious life of the eighteenth century, but the religious life of the world."¹²⁶

(3) The Kentucky revival.

The second important American revival¹²⁷, characterized as "one of the most remarkable revivals of modern times,"¹²⁸ was one which swept over the Western part of the United States during¹²⁹ the years 1797-1805. The propagating center of the revival was in Logan county, in Southwestern Kentucky, in what was then known as the Cumberland Country. "The people among whom the work was done were of Scotch-Irish stock, and did not lack in virility."¹³⁰ It needs also to be said that many of them were people "drawn from the worst immigrants that perhaps were ever brought to America."¹³¹ Logan county was referred to as "Rogues' Harbor" and "Satan's Stronghold."¹³²

The leaders of the movement were Rev. James McGready¹³³, who, coming to Logan county, brought with him a modified Calvinism, and plenty of Hell fire¹³⁴, Peter Cartwright¹³⁵, and Lorenzo Dow. Under their preaching terrible excesses took place which have made

this revival anathema on the part of many writers.¹³⁶

The movement spread rapidly over Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia, but the camp meetings held at Gasper River and Cane Ridge, Kentucky gave the movement its lasting notoriety.

"At the Cane Ridge meeting it is estimated that 20,000 people attended, some driving in carts fifty miles. Everything was forsaken, on farms and in villages, and with their families, bedding, and provisions in their wagons, men drove to the meeting. On arriving there the wagons were placed in rows, like streets, and people gave themselves up to excitement and excesses, never thinking of returning home until the provisions were exhausted." (137)

No one will deny that the people were in need of spiritual quickening, but they were also in a state of nervous instability which predisposed them to the worst features of revivalism. These protracted meetings, attended by dense crowds, were held in the forest, many times to the eerie light of camp-fires, and "were such as almost inevitably to produce the results which did follow; 'jerk-ing,' 'laughing,' 'barking,' and other manifestations of frenzy."¹³⁸

In spite of all these undesirable features it was out of this movement that the camp-meeting came, and "institution which was destined to exercise a great influence on the religious life of the newer sections of the United States."¹³⁹

Contemporary with this movement, although not influenced by it, there occurred college revivals in New England. Being more rational, they did a great deal of good.¹⁴⁰

(4) The work of Nettleton and Finney.

The third great revival epoch in America came under the

preaching of Asahel Nettleton, in New England, and Charles Grandison Finney, in New York. Nettleton was violently opposed to outbursts of emotion and physical manifestations. He sought to have his audiences quietly disperse to go home and meditate. He considered himself only as "holding a torch to the tinder which God had prepared."¹⁴¹ His work seems to have been deep and effective.¹⁴²

On the other hand Charles G. Finney¹⁴³ renewed "the spirit and method of Edwards"¹⁴⁴, and his preaching was, therefore, "the strictest Calvinism with hell and damnation unadulterated."¹⁴⁵ He was a man of remarkable personality, possessed of some strange influence, almost hypnotic¹⁴⁶, which affected all with whom he came in contact.

In the early part of his work, although he preached "free will" he encouraged physical manifestations, such as weeping, crying, and "being struck." Later, he reversed his policy.

"It is of interest to observe that . . . from 1850 he lays aside the appeal to panic, and all the devices that kindle mass emotion, and his later sermons are full of the love of God, the splendor of the soul, and the possibility of its union with the eternal in the power of a pure and blessed life." (147)

Long before his life closed Finney became known in many parts of the United States and Great Britain as one of the great revivalists of all time. It is said that the very unusual religious history of Rochester, New York, was molded and fashioned by him. He was instrumental in establishing in Ohio, Oberlin college, an institution which has contributed much to the religious life of the world.

(5) The "Lay Revival"

The next revival has often been designated as a "lay movement" and the term is well applied, for the revival was noted for the absence of any great leader. It began in 1857 in the city of Brooklyn, New York. During a time of great financial depression¹⁴⁸, a few business men gathered each noon, for prayer, in the Fulton street church of that city. From these meetings there sprang a revival which became international in extent. Davenport¹⁴⁹ has characterized it as "a quiet, deep and sane spiritual movement which pervaded and invigorated the higher life of the American people." Another writer says:

"The movement infected all classes. . . . The pulpit held a subordinate place, and more persons were awakened to religious concern during prayer than under sermons. . . . No physical manifestations occurred. The ministers were well versed in the history of the undisciplined enthusiasm of former revivals, and used all their influence to check excitement. They uttered simple statements of Gospel truth, and avoided all appeal to the emotions." (150)

When the movement spread to Wales and Ireland¹⁵¹, it took on a very different aspect. The '59 Revival in Ireland became a by-word for prostrations, and afflictions of dumbness, blindness, catalepsy, or sleeping sickness.¹⁵² In Wales "more than 30,000 are said to have been converted, and in Ireland many more."¹⁵³ One writer records that in America "during a year from the commencement of the work, not less than 400,000 souls were brought to Christ."¹⁵⁴

(6) The work of Moody and Sankey.

The "Lay Revival" was followed by one¹⁵⁵ led by a layman,

Dwight L. Moody¹⁵⁶, "the great apostle of common sense."¹⁵⁷

In 1873, accompanied by Mr. Sankey¹⁵⁸, he came to Great Britain, where, after a brief period of obscurity, they achieved considerable success. In Scotland their work was phenomenal.¹⁵⁹ It was here that Moody discovered Henry Drummond¹⁶⁰, then a theological student, and inspired him to a life of service among young university men.

Upon returning to America, Moody visited Chicago, New York, and many of the other principal cities. He had a large number of converts. Soon after this, at what seemed to be the height of his career, he gave up the revivalistic field to devote his attention to summer assemblies for university students, to the work of a Bible college which he had established at Chicago, and to boys' and girls' preparatory institutions which he had established at Mount Hermon and Northfield in New England.¹⁶¹

Due to his ability to organize and to his good common sense, Moody's great revival meetings no doubt accomplished much¹⁶², but his educational work has been more lasting.

(7) The Welsh revival.

The most recent great revival was the Welsh revival¹⁶³ of 1905-06. Evan Roberts, a young theological student, acted as the focal point about which it revolved. In the main, "like the 1857 revival, it was a lay movement."¹⁶⁴ Although the form in which it broke out was unexpected, it had been prepared for long before an outbreak was recorded. Many small groups of earnest Christians had

been for years uniting in prayer for a revival. According to Stead the first indications of the movement occurred at New Quay, in Cardiganshire, in connection with a prayer meeting held under the ministry of Rev. Joseph Jenkins.¹⁶⁵

The movement was one which affected mainly the common people. It was "practically confined to the working classes - to the miners, peasants, and petty shopkeepers. Very few members of the learned professions were among the converts; and very few, if any, business magnates."¹⁶⁶

The revival caused a great deal of comment at the time, many of the leaders predicting that it would become world-wide. Contrary to their expectations, attempts to duplicate the work were in most cases futile.¹⁶⁷

Although intense excitement prevailed at times, very few "manifestations" occurred. There were some cases of "disorderly meetings," and of "holy laughter." Great emphasis was put upon congregational singing, which may account somewhat for the absence of other expressions of excitement.

On the whole, in spite of undesirable features, considerable good was accomplished. It was alleged to be "no mere debauch of unbridled emotionalism; it was accompanied by a real decrease of crime."¹⁶⁸ The number of converts is estimated by one writer as 100,000¹⁶⁹, but this must be considered purely an estimate.

G. Recent revival movements.

The revival movements of recent years have, in the main,

been confined to the mission fields, to certain primitive peoples, and to the United States.¹⁷⁰

(1) Mission field revivals.

Of the mission field revivals, it will be of interest to notice three, one in India, one in Manchuria, another on the Ivory Coast.

(a) Revival in India.

The first of these took place in India during the years 1905-06. It resulted from the direct attempt of certain Indian leaders to transplant the Welsh revival. The Welsh revival had been comparatively free from physical manifestations, but when the same teaching was transplanted to the milieu of a more primitive people, the wildest of excesses took place.¹⁷¹ There are reported: "Visional illusions of different sorts;"¹⁷² "wailing, laughter, trembling;"¹⁷³ "possession by a dumb demon;"¹⁷⁴ "beating of breasts and rolling on the ground."¹⁷⁵

This revival, which began in the Spring of 1905, was general throughout the mission stations in all sections of India. It struck with greatest intensity in the Khassia Hills section. Reports from many sections of India in the summer and fall of 1906 showed that "this revival rivalled that of 1800 (Kentucky revival) in physical manifestations."¹⁷⁶

(b) Revival in Manchuria.

In 1908 a somewhat similar movement occurred in Manchuria.

The center of the movement seems to have been the city of Moukden.¹⁷⁷ One writer declares that the revival was the direct result of the reading of a brief selection of Finney's Lectures on Revivals which had been scattered broadcast in the Far East.¹⁷⁸

In this revival, as in the one in India, we find many examples of physical manifestations. We read of converts "falling heavily to the floor, and lying struggling and gasping for breath;"¹⁷⁹ "wailing in inarticulate words,"¹⁸⁰ "tearing themselves with their nails, and bumping their heads on the ground, until the blood gushes forth."¹⁸¹

Although this revival was not as extensive as the one in India, affecting mainly the Methodist missions, its excesses were more intense.

(c) Revival among the negroes of the Ivory Coast.

In the year 1925, through the work of W. J. Platt, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, the attention of the world was drawn to a great mass "revival" movement among the negroes of the Ivory Coast.

The leader of this movement was a black prophet, William Wade Harris,¹⁸² known as the "Black Elijah." He was a member of the Grebo race of Liberia. His early religious training had been gained at a coast mission school at Sino. After being converted, through the preaching of a negro minister, named Thompson, Harris became a member of the American Methodist church in Cape Palmas.¹⁸³

It is thought that in 1910 upon release from prison¹⁸⁴ he began to preach. His determination to preach was the result of either

a vision or a vow. It seems probable that his work began in Liberia,
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 and that he arrived on the Ivory Coast some time in 1913.

On all his journeys he wore a turban and a white robe, with
 a broad red band around his shoulders. He carried a bible, a staff
 in the form of a cross¹⁸⁶, and a calabash of water which he used to
 baptize his converts.

Although he had a fair rote knowledge of the bible, his
 theological knowledge was small. His gospel was very elementary.

"Idol worship was wrong and charms (fetiches) unavail-
 ing; There is only one God, the father of all men, and one
 Saviour, Jesus Christ. In this Name he appealed to his
 hearers to abandon the fetich and accept the Faith." (187)

His methods seem to have been as simple and rudimentary as
 had been his training. One writer thus describes his methods:

"The crowds gathered around him in the open-air and he
 preached to them. If he entered a new village where he was
 unknown, he would begin talking about God to two or three
 people who met him, and soon a crowd would gather to see
 what was the matter. He did not know any Ivory Coast lan-
 guage, but always spoke in pidgin-English and used an in-
 terpreter.(188) Yet in spite of these serious lim-
 itations this wonderful man moved to their depths the
 hearts of thousands." (189)

Harris made no attempt to establish churches, considering
 himself only a messenger¹⁹⁰, but it is recorded that in each village
 he appointed - or advised the people to appoint - a church "leader"
 and "twelve apostles," to manage the affairs of their church. He told
 the people to build churches for their new God, to get themselves
 bibles, and to wait patiently untill the day when the white man

should come to teach them.¹⁹¹

In 1914, in the midst of his revival work, Harris was arrested by the French authorities and deported. However, the work had borne fruit. In spite of opposition on the part of the government¹⁹², and despite lack of white leadership, the people remained faithful to their new religion. Well over 50,000 people had been converted.¹⁹³ Ten years later Methodist missionaries coming into the field found the people in every village eager to hear more of the gospel of which Harris had given them only a part. Although some people had fallen away, there was a definite Christian community of 20,000 people. Within four years, as a result of the subsequent work of Mr. Platt and six other missionaries, there was a Christian community numbering some 40,000 all of whom, before the coming of Harris, had been fetich worshippers.¹⁹⁴

Harris claimed to have experienced visions and trances, but no such experiences seem to have been in evidence among his followers. Like the Old Testament prophets, he presented great ethical truths which sank deep into the hearts of the people, affecting the emotions only as guided by the intellect. The "manifestations" experienced in many other revivals seem to have been entirely absent.

(2) Revivals among primitive peoples.

(a) Among the North American Indians.

The fact that religious revivals were taking place among the primitive tribes of the North American Indians was first given publicity by a study made by an Indian agent, James Moody, for the

United States Bureau of Ethnology.¹⁹⁵ However, it remained for F.

M. Davenport¹⁹⁶ to explain them more fully, psychologically.

Although Davenport asserts¹⁹⁷ that the Shakers, from whom the advocates of the Ghost-dance religion obtained many of their ideas, were not in any way allied to the white Shakers of eastern United States, it is nevertheless true that the Indian organizers were familiar with Christian customs and Christian doctrines. White missionaries had been in that field for years. Christian forms and Christian principles were to some extent sprinkled through the movement from the beginning.

Davenport describes one of their "camp meetings" by saying:

"As among the Shakers, the revival method is thoroughly hypnotic. The medicine-man stands within the ring, holding in his hand an eagle feather or a handkerchief, white, black or any other color. Sometimes he holds the feather in one hand and the scarf in the other. The dancers circle round him singing songs in time with the dance step. The first indication that an individual of least self-control is being affected is observable in a slight muscular tremor. The first subject is usually a woman. The medicine-man is on the watch, and he comes immediately and stands in front of the subject, looking intently into her face, and whirling the feather or the handkerchief, or both, rapidly in front of her eyes, moving slowly about with the dancers at the same time, always facing the woman. All the time he keeps up a series of sharp exclamations, Hu! Hu! Hu!, like the rapid breathing of an exhausted runner. Soon the woman is overcome, and staggers into the ring, while the circle closes up behind her. The medicine-man then gives his whole attention to her until he completes his work and she becomes rigid, uttering low moans, with her eyes fixed and staring, and then totally unconscious. Immediately he begins the same process with some other who has become susceptible." (198)

Another writer reports that at one meeting which she wit-

nessed the dance "was kept up until fully one hundred persons out of the three or four hundred who took part were lying absolutely unconscious. Then they stopped and seated themselves in a circle, and, as each one recovered from his trance, he was brought to the center of the ring to relate his experience." 199

The leader, or prophet, of this ghost-dance religion, was one Wovoka, who lived amongst the Paiutes of Western Nevada. He was considered a Messiah by his followers. Some of his instructions, which Mr. Mooney reports, remind us of the earlier revivals in Kentucky. In one instance the Messiah instructed his followers to "hold the gatherings every six weeks, and dance four successive nights. On the last night, the dance was to be kept up until the morning of the fifth day." 200

This movement spread with great rapidity among the red men, as had Millerism, and a kind of spiritualism before it. 201

"All together thirty or thirty-five tribes west and east of the Rockies, having an aggregate population of sixty thousand souls, received the new religion." 202

Now it is practically unknown, but while the movement lasted it exhibited many features of revivals found among highly civilized peoples.

"In this unique development of Indian faith we have a revival with accompaniments of primitive simplicity. Here is the dance, the rhythm, the trance, the vision, the ecstasy, all the reflex phenomena which belong to primitive man." (203)

To be fair one must add that Davenport, while admitting

its debasing elements also records that this movement laid emphasis upon the reformed life with respect to the two great Indian vices: drinking and gambling.

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(b) Among the Negroes of the West Indies.

Among the negroes of the West Indies occurred a revival movement which demonstrates even more clearly the influence of white teaching. That this movement gained its impetus from the work of recent white revivalists seems certain. The movement has been described by Beckwith.

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A description of one of their meetings follows:

"One night in the little village of Lacovia, in the remote country parish of St. Elizabeth on the south side of the island (Jamaica), I followed the sound of drums to a revivalistic meeting which was held in a booth set up in the bush some distance back from the village street. The worshippers were singing hymns which began with a Moody and Sankey tune and continued in a dizzying iteration of syncopated rhythm to which they danced with a peculiar rocking motion, raising first one foot then the other, at the same time lifting the arms and letting the body sway from side to side. Wands held upright in the hand waved also with the beat of the singing.

The leader, a man named Granville, wore a uniform resembling that of the Salvation Army and carried a sword-like staff of wood. (206) Near him stood the leading woman or 'Mammy' of the company, a stout good-looking married woman of thirty-five named Margaret Williston. She wore a white turban and bid-apron and a shoulder sash of green marked with the figures 66 across the breast. (207) Her wand was made of a lithe vine called 'supplejack,' twisted into a ring at the top and tied in a knot. From time to time during the service she spun about slowly and bowed herself." (208)

As the movement of the dance continued, the excitement became greater and the actions of the worshippers more intense. Once, when the singing took on a wilder rhythm Mrs. Williston dropped into

a semi-hypnoidal condition.

"This showed itself in a loud and rhythmical breathing in sound like the barking of a dog. (209) This is called 'trooping' and denotes possession by a spirit. Sometimes it is prolonged until the devotee falls unconscious, but on this occasion Mrs Williston had herself well in hand and in a few moments was offering a prayer in Biblical phraseology." (210)

After this demonstration there followed more singing, prayers, and testimonies to religious experiences. The same writer records that such meetings "might last for hours, and the more emotion of the hysterical sort is aroused, the better satisfied were the leaders." 211

Although the author of this description did not seek to discover the origins of the movement, it seems quite certain that it received its original impulse from the Moody and Sankey revival, or from one of its imitators. There were mixed in, of course, elements from the primitive voodoo religion of the people.

(c) Among the Eskimos of Greenland.

A report of a somewhat similar revival movement among the Eskimos is important in showing how races very far apart geographically, racially, and anthropologically, go through common experiences. This revival took place amongst the Eskimos of Greenland, in the early years of this century. It was brought to the attention of the world at large through the writings of Knud Rasmussen of the Danish Literary Expedition. He had been born and brought up in Greenland, and had an intimate knowledge of the manners, legends, and religious

beliefs of the Eskimo.

According to Morgan²¹², the leaders of the movement were Habakkuk and Mary Magdalene²¹³, a married couple who had passed through a great sorrow. They both claimed to have visions, and heavenly dreams.

The meetings were characterized by singing, preaching by the leader, weeping, wailing, laughing, and seizures on the part of the people. In describing one of their meetings Rasmussen says:

"When one or another of the disciples, without any reason whatever wanted to weep, the whole gathering would break out into terrible crying. And then suddenly some person in the assembly threw himself down on his face, and began to laugh, all the rest did the same. (214) And sometimes they would laugh till one would think they could never be serious again. When Habakkuk was holding his discourse on eternal life, the assembly would sometimes be seized with such a longing for eternal life that they would begin to jump up and down where they sat. Then suddenly Habakkuk would stop his oration, mention a name, and say that such and such a one had now entered on the right way; and immediately all the men would rush out of the house, seize their guns, and fire a salute, that they might hear in heaven how men rejoiced at so great salvation." (215)

It is rather astonishing to learn that the local Christian catechist was won over to the movement.

(3) Recent revivalists in the United States.

The recent revivals in the United States²¹⁶ have not deeply affected the religious life of the people. Many men such as Benjamin F. Mills²¹⁷, J. W. Chapman²¹⁸, R. A. Torrey²¹⁹, William A. (Billy) Sunday²²⁰, and 'Gypsy' Smith²²¹, have come into prominence. All of these men may be considered as disciples of Moody or of his

imitators. Some of them have developed ultra-modern and novel methods.²²² These methods have consisted mainly in awakening interest before the arrival of the revivalist, "uniting the religious forces of the place for a general effort, and securing the public testimony of the converts."²²³

The simple expedient of a revivalist, accompanied by a singer, has been supplanted by "revivalistic companies." Many of the more recent men move "from place to place with a following of something like a dozen, ready for every kind of secretarial work, singing, advertising and the rest."²²⁴ By some of the later men the "anxious seat" of Finney's day has been replaced by the demand to "hit the sawdust trail."²²⁵ The "power", so evident in the work of Moody, has been diverted into other channels.

H. Religious revivals and religious epidemics.

In this survey we have sought to keep clear the distinction between religious revivals and religious epidemics. To the mind of the writer the failure to do this is a grave error into which some have fallen. Although the two phenomena have some points in common, they are separate and distinct. G. B. Cutten has devoted a whole chapter in his Psychological Phenomena of Christianity to a study of such epidemics.²²⁶ In this chapter he details the various epidemics which have appeared and develops a chronological table of their duration.

He lists six in all, as follows:²²⁷

Monasticism	250-1209
Pilgrimages	1000-1095
Crusades	1096-1299
Flagellants	1260-1454
Dancing	1374-1650
Witchcraft	1484-1749

For students of revivals, the main interest in these movements is found in Cutten's contention that religious epidemics ended in 1749, partly through the influence of revivals. He says:

"Two factors enter into the explanation. Up to this time religion was the chief concern of the people; after this, commerce seized the mind of the world, and the epidemics since then, which have been many and continuous, have been of a financial character. (228) The second factor is found in religious enthusiasm and excitement seeking an outlet in another form. This was the revival. The Great Awakening in America and the Wesleyan Revival in England, began during the first half of the eighteenth century, and a continuous series can be traced since that time." (229)

While it is true, as Cutten has pointed out, that there has been an almost unbroken line of revivals in the Protestant church since the time of Edwards and Wesley, the researches of this chapter have shown that to be only part of the story. Moreover, Cutten's careful distinction between religious revivals and religious epidemics is a real contribution. This distinction will be carefully maintained throughout the remainder of this study.

NOTES

Chapter I.

1. Cotton Mather: Magnalia Christi Americana, Book III. p. 71.
Speaking of the work of Mr. Francis Higginson in New England it is declared that under his ministry "many were built up in their most Holy Faith; and there was a notable Revival of Religion among them." (The italics are mine)
2. J. W. Couper: Scottish revivals, p. 3
3. Ibid: loc. cit.
4. See such texts as Psalms 85:6, Hosea 14:7, Habakkuk 3:2
5. Lectures on the revival of religion, by ministers of the Church of Scotland, Preface, p. iv
6. V. Morgan: The Welsh religious revival, 1904-5, Preface, p. xvi.
7. W. W. Sweet: Religious revivals, Encyc. Brit. - (14th. ed.) - Vol. 19 - p. 240
8. E. F. Hatfield: Revivals of Religion, New Schaff-Herzog Encyc. of Rel. Knowledge - Vol. 10 - p. 9
9. The Oxford Dictionary; a new English dictionary on historical principles. - Vol. 8 - Part 1 - p. 612
10. The impossibility of studying every revival is at once evident. It will be our purpose to select those which are most representative.
11. J. B. Pratt: R. C. p. 167
12. Ibid: loc. cit.
13. H. R. Willoughby: Pagan regeneration, p. 79. His description of the Dionisian excesses, Chap. 3, p. 68-89, is exceedingly valuable.
14. H. J. Rose: Thrace, E. R. E. - Vol. 12 - p. 326
15. G. Galloway: The Philosophy of religion, p. 154
16. Ibid: loc. cit.
17. B. F. Jevons: An introduction to the history of religion, p. 340-341

18. L. R. Farnell: The cults of the Greek states, see esp. Chap. 4-7 - Vol. 5 on "Dyonisian Cults".
19. B. F. Jevons: loc. cit.
20. See W. A. Heidel: Die bekehrung in klassischen altertum, Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie, Vol. 3 - (Old Series) - (1910) - p. 384-389
21. A. C. Underwood: C. C. N. C. p. 106
22. S. Angus: The Mystery-religions and Christianity, p. 58
23. Ibid: op. cit. p. 61
24. F. Cumont: Oriental religions and Roman paganism, p. 26f., p. 58f.
25. S. Dill: Roman society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 560f., p. 585f. One statement by Dill is especially interesting in this connection: "Pious artistic skill was not wanting to heighten emotion in Isis worship, as it is not disdained in our Christian churches. But the prayer offered by Lucius (on his initiation in the Isiac mysteries) might, mutatis mutandis, be uttered by a new convert at a camp-meeting." p. 574
26. Ibid: op. cit. p. 336
27. Ibid: op. cit. Chap. 2, p. 334-383
28. For a detailed account of the character and preaching of these men see S. Dill: loc. cit.
29. J. A. Irvine: Pagan evangelism in the first two centuries, Expository Times, - Vol. 41 - (1929-30) - p. 218
30. Ibid: loc. cit. Cf. Dill: op. cit. p. 342; 345
31. M. Anesaki: History of Japanese religion, p. 168
32. For a most complete study of Honen and his work see Honen: the Buddhist saint, compiled by Imperial Order, by various Japanese scholars. (Translated from the Japanese by Reverend H. H. Coates and Reverend R. Ishizuka)
33. M. Anesaki: op. cit. p. 179
34. Cf. M. Anesaki: op. cit. p. 170-181, from whom I have drawn freely.
35. Ibid: p. 175-176



36. For full details of Nichiren's life and work see M. Anesaki: Nichiren, the Buddhist prophet.
37. Ibid: p. 35
38. M. Anesaki: Nichiren, the Buddhist prophet, points out that Nichiren also criticized other branches of Buddhism. However, his main attack was directed against the followers of Honen. See esp. p. 36, note.
39. For the content of this teaching see M. Anesaki: Nichiren, the Buddhist prophet, p. 17-32. For the Five Theses of Nichiren's Mission see M. Anesaki: History of Japanese religion, p. 195. A most complete study of the Lotus is found in W. E. Soothill: The Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or the Lotus Gospel.
40. M. Anesaki: History of Japanese religion, p. 204-205
41. This is by no means to ignore the revival which took place in 1875 in the Brahma Samadj under the direction of Keshab Tschander Sen. This has been dealt with at length by Burckhardt and Grundemann: Les missions evangeliques depuis leur origine jusqu'a nos jours, Vol. 3, See H. Bois: Q. R. P. R. p. 153
42. For full particulars of his work, based on the account in the Bhakta-mala see Horace H. Wilson: A sketch of the religious sects of the Hindus, p. 46ff.
43. Cf. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 51
44. George A. Grierson: Gleanings from the Bhakta-mala, J. of the Royal Asiatic Soc. - (1909) - p. 642
45. G. A. Grierson: Bhakti-marga, E. R. E. - Vol. 2 - p. 548
46. op. cit. p. 53. See also the encyclopedia article by Grierson. First hand knowledge of the movement is difficult to obtain since it was originally recorded in Middle Hindi and has never been translated into English.
47. For a very helpful recent book see M. T. Kennedy: The Chaitanya movement.
48. op. cit. p. 56
49. Ibid: p. 206
50. His travelling companion, Govinda Das.
51. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 207

52. Ibid: p. 217
53. Jadunath Sarkar: Chaitanya's pilgrimages and teachings, p. 193. See also pp. 56-59, 228. Quoted by A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 217
54. For a study of such a one see the story of the conversion by Chaitanya of the famous Vedantic scholar, Prakashananda, recorded by A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 219. For a similar example in the more recent Cane Ridge (Kentucky) revival see the case recorded in the Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, p. 50-51. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: P. T. R. R. p. 80-81
55. H. Khan and W. Sparroy: With the pilgrims to Mecca, p. 242-246
56. The "Morning Post" (London)
57. H. Khan and W. Sparroy: op. cit. p. 242
58. Ibid: p. 242-243
59. Ibid: p. 243
60. Ibid: loc. cit.
61. Ibid: p. 245
62. Ibid: pp. 245-246. It should be borne in mind that this was written by a Moslem in sympathy with the pilgrimage, and not by an unsympathetic Christian, merely reporting it because assigned to do so.
63. See such books as H. C. Fish: Handbook of revivals, or H. Johnson: Stories of great revivals.
64. While there are records in the Bible of definite revivals, there are those who attempt to find them where there is little, or no evidence of their existence. For an example of this see B. Philpot: On religious revivals, pp. 16-21
65. J. Stalker: Revivals of religion, E. R. E. - Vol. 10 - p. 753
66. Ibid: loc. cit.
67. Chap. 24
68. 7:2-12
69. 15:9-15; 20:4-27
70. See II Kings 22:1-23:28. Cf. II Chronicles 34:1-35:19

71. A. S. Peake: Josiah, H. D. B. - Vol. 2 - p. 788
72. Cf. Jeremiah 6:1; Zephaniah 1:14-18
73. "The prophetic party, which had attained great influence under Hezekiah, had lost it under Manasseh, who carried his fanatical attachment to lower forms of religion to the point of persecuting the pure faith." A. S. Peake: loc. cit. However, the work under Hezekiah had not been without fruit. "It is generally admitted that Hezekiah paved the way for the reformation carried out by Josiah." J. A. M'Clymont: Hezekiah, H. D. B. - Vol. 2 - p. 377
74. See II Kings 22:3ff.
75. This was formerly identified as the book of Deuteronomy, or part of it. Scholars are now divided on this point. For a discussion of the traditional view see H. E. Ryle: Deuteronomy, H. D. B. - Vol. 1 - pp. 602-603
76. A. S. Peake: loc. cit.
77. II Kings 23:1ff.
78. A. S. Peake: loc. cit. See also II Chron. 35:1-19
79. Ibid: For other revivals by which the Hebrew people sought to overthrow the dominance of foreign gods, and do away with foreign practices see I Kings 18:1-40, "The revival under Elijah"; Ezra 10:1-17, "The revival under Ezra;" and II Chron. 29, "The revival under Hezekiah."
80. See Matt. 3:2
81. Isaiah 40:2-5
82. K. Kohler: John the Baptist, Jewish Encyc. - Vol. 7 - p. 218
83. It is the contention of some writers that John was an Essene. For example see K. Kohler: Essenes, Jewish Encyc. - Vol. 5 - pp. 231-232
84. G. H. Box: John the Baptist, Encyc. Brit. - (14th. ed.) - Vol. 13 - p. 104
85. Luke 16:16
86. Matt. 3:5-6
87. See Acts 1:1-9

88. Acts 2:1-6
89. H. C. Fish: op. cit. p. 27
90. Acts 2:6
91. Ibid: 2:41
92. Ibid: 2:46
93. H. C. Fish: op. cit. p. 28
94. For an excellent study of these movements see J. Burns: Revivals, their laws and leaders, Chap. 2-3, p. 57-141
95. For a description of one such movement in recent years see B. De Courson: Revival of religion since the World War in France, Dublin Rev. - Vol. 183 - (1928) - p. 245-257. For a picture of the theological development responsible for it see A. Schinz: The religious awakening of France, Biblical World - Vol. 51 - (New Series) - (1918) - p. 67-80. An interesting study of it from a very different point of view is found in an article by H. G. Wells: The religious revival, New Republic - Vol. 9 - (1916-17) - Part. I - pp. 206-208; Part II - pp. 234-235
96. F. Meyrick: The practical working of the church of Spain, p. 142
97. See his Enfield sermon in his Works, Vol. 4 - p. 313, or extracts from his sermons quoted by Davenport: op. cit. pp. 112-113
98. F. Meyrick: op. cit. p. 144
99. Ibid: p. 150-151
100. Cf. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. Chap. 13, "The Passional and Rational in Religion," p. 258-281
101. F. Meyrick: op. cit. p. 151 (The italics are mine)
102. J. Howley: Psychology and mystical experience, esp. pp. 42-53
103. Ibid: p. 51. In this connection see also A. C. Tillyard: Spiritual exercises and their results.
104. The special objects have been thus expressed: "Deformata reformare, reformata conformare, conformata confirmare, confirmata informare." For an excellent analysis of the Spiritual Exercises see L. J. Walker: The psychology of the "Spiritual Exercises", Hibbert J. - Vol. 19 - (1920-21) - pp. 401-413

105. J. Howley: op. cit. pp. 42-44. For another excellent digest see D. Stone: Retreat, E. R. E. - Vol. 10 - p. 744

106. J. Howley: op. cit. pp. 52-53

107. G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. pp. 175-176. "The revival movement began with "The Great Awakening" in 1734. No one would claim that this was the first revival. Most of the great religious movements might be classed as revivals. The Reformation has been so classed, but the Reformation was a religio-political revolution rather than a revival."

Many writers on revivals have classed such movements as revivals. See, for example, the listing below, given by W. T. Stead: The revival in the West, p. 20-21

Century	Revival	Result
12th	Cistercian	The Signing of the Magna Charta
13th	Friars	Parliamentary Government
14th	Wycliffe	The Peasant Revolt
16th	Tyndale	The Reformation
17th	Puritanism	The Fall of Despotism and the Founding of New England
17-18th	Quakerism	The Revolution of 1688 and the Founding of Pennsylvania
18th	Methodist	The Era of Reform
19th	American	The Era of Democracy
20th	Welsh	Who can say?

108. For a recent study of the Scotch revivals see W. J. Couper: op. cit.

109. For details of the movement see J. Tracy: The Great Awakening. under each revival only one or two of the most important books on the subject will be noted. For a more comprehensive and detailed list see the thesis Bibliography.

110. For a complete study of this phase of the movement see C. H. Maxson: The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies.

111. Now "Princeton University"

112. For a study of the Tennents and others connected with the Log College see Archibald Alexander: Biographical Sketches of the Founder and Principal Alumni of the Log College.

113. In this connection see W. M. Gewehr: G. A. V.

114. Ibid: op. cit. p. 5-6

115. Ibid: passim.

116. H. C. Fish: op. cit. p. 50-51
117. Ibid: p. 51. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 178, gives the same figures.
118. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 132. For the opinion of one who was contemporary with the revival see C. Chauncey: Seasonable thoughts on the state of religion in New England. For a testimony contrary to that of Davenport, although not so reliable see H. C. Fish: op. cit. pp. 51-52
119. See A. D. Belden: George Whitefield - the Awakener; also S. G. Dimond: P. M. R.
120. W. W. Sweet: op. cit. p. 240. It is an interesting coincidence that at the present time a new Oxford Movement is springing into being called "The Oxford Group" based on the Buchman Group movement of America. This movement will be considered more fully in Chapter 10 - "The New Evangelism"
- The methods of the early Methodists while new to their age were not new in Christian history. The influence on the Wesleyan movement of a much earlier revival movement - Pietism - has been pointed out by several writers. "The Moravians may be regarded as indirectly an offshoot of Pietism. . . . Indirectly linked with Pietism by means of Moravianism is the Methodist revival under John Wesley." E. S. Waterhouse: Pietism, E. R. E. Vol. 10 - p. 9. For a similar statement see J. Stalker: Revivals, E. R. E. - Vol. 10 - p. 754. For a book which ably treats the whole question of the relation between these movements see A. Nagler: Pietism and Methodism.
121. "The moral ruin of the times can be seen in the politics of Walpole, in the writings of Smollet, but most of all in the art of Hogarth, who set himself to faithfully depict a society around him which, as it has been said, seemed as though 'all the menageries of the passions had been unchained'." J. Burns: op. cit. p. 269
- Religion had lost all spirituality. Isaac Taylor calls the church of this period "a fair carcass"; and Blackstone says that he "went to hear every preacher of note in London, but that there was not one whose discourse indicated whether he was a follower of Confucius, or of Mohammed, or of Christ. Religion seemed to consist in outward and formal observances." J. Strong: The next great awakening, p. 40-41
- For two excellent studies of the conditions of this period see A. D. Belden: op. cit. pp. 53-58, and S. G. Dimond: op. cit. Chap. 2 - pp. 18-41
122. W. W. Sweet: op. cit. p. 241. For first hand material see Wesley's: Journals.

123. W. W. Sweet: loc. cit.
124. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 179. For a classification and distribution of the various cases see Dimond: op. cit. pp. 126-130
125. The following quotation is illuminating: "At last in the silence there rings out Whitefield's marvellous voice, carrying every gentlest inflection to the outskirts of the great crowd, who stand spell-bound, now inspired by terror as he pictures with startling images the awfulness of sin, now shaken with sobs as he declares the infinite sufferings and mercy of Christ, until, with loud cries, they sink upon their knees, carried away by a torrent of emotion." J. Burns: op. cit. pp. 286-287. (The italics are mine)
126. W. W. Sweet: loc. cit.
127. In this connection see C. C. Cleveland: G. R. W. and W. Speer: The great revival of 1800
128. W. W. Sweet: loc. cit.
129. There is considerable variation of opinion among authorities as to the length of duration of the various revivals. Unless otherwise noted, I have accepted the opinion of G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 186. In this case I have accepted the opinion of C. C. Cleveland: op. cit.
130. T. B. Kilpatrick: New Testament evangelism, p. 125
131. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 65
132. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 179
133. See The posthumous works of James McGready, edited by James Smith.
134. It was said of him that "he would so array hell before the wicked that they would tremble and quake, imagining a lake of fire and brimstone yawning to overwhelm them and the hand of the Almighty thrusting them down the horrible abyss." F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 67
135. See his Autobiography. Also H. H. Grant: Peter Cartwright, pioneer.
136. Some avoid any mention of the movement. For example Fish: op. cit. and S. B. Halliday and D. S. Gregory: The church in America and its baptisms of fire.
137. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 180

138. T. B. Kilpatrick: op. cit. p. 126
139. W. W. Sweet: loc. cit.
140. See Two centuries of Christian activity at Yale, edited by H. Wright. Esp. Chap. 4-5 on "Revivals", p. 51-95
141. H. C. Fish: op. cit. p. 59
142. See Noah Porter: Letters on Revivals, which tells of many churches enriched through the work of Nettleton.
143. For a study of his life see his Autobiography.
144. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 180
145. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 182
146. For examples of this see his Autobiography, pp. 69, 70; 151, 152; 161ff.; 183. Also F. M. Davenport: op. cit. pp. 199-202
147. A. T. Guttery: Christian conversion, p. 264
148. The question of the influence of times of depression upon the genesis of revivals will be considered in Chap. 9 - "The Genesis of Revivals."
149. op. cit. p. 203
150. Religious revivals, Quar. Rev. - Vol. 107 - (1860) - p. 168
151. In this connection see W. Gibson: The year of grace, also W. M. Wilkinson: The revival in its physical, psychical, and religious aspects.
152. For a brighter side of the picture see Reminiscences of the '59 revival, a book written fifty years after the events, by men influenced for good by the revival.
153. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 183
154. H. C. Fish: op. cit. p. 70. To arrive at any exact figure is practically impossible. The figures given in this section must be considered merely as estimates, varying with the individuals who record them.
155. See D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey: Narrative of labors in Great Britain and Ireland, also J. M. (pseud.) Recollections of D. L. Moody and his work in Britain, 1874-1892.

156. For biographies of Moody see G. Bradford: D. L. Moody, a worker in souls; W. R. Moody: The life of Dwight L Moody; J. MacDowell: Dwight L. Moody, the discoverer of men and maker of movements.
157. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 183
158. See I. D. Sankey: My life and sacred song.
159. W. J. Couper: op. cit. See Chap. 4 - p. 141-152
160. In this connection see J. Y. Simpson: Henry Drummond, and G. A. Smith: The Life of Henry Drummond. Also of interest is Henry Drummond: Dwight L. Moody.
161. There have been many conjectures concerning this move, F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 208 suggests that Moody no doubt suddenly realized the limitations of the "revival" method. In this connection another quotation gives us valuable light: "Moody and Sankey returned by invitation to Scotland in 1881, but the work accomplished though great in itself, is acknowledged to have fallen far short of the campaign of 1873-4." W. J. Couper: op. cit. p. 152 note.
162. "About ten years after Moody held his first revival in Glasgow, practically every man who had been closely associated with him was on the Glasgow town council, and working definitely for Christ in other ways." Harry Miller: Christian Sociology, Lectures delivered at New College, Edinburgh - 1930-31.
163. For fuller accounts see H. Bois: R. P. G; and A. J. Rogues de Fursac: M. M. C. Although these are the best two studies of the revival, they have not been translated into English. See also V. J. Morgan: W. R. R.
164. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 184
165. For a description of this meeting see W. T. Stead: op. cit. R. B. Jones: Rent Heavens, p. 25-26, maintains that the revival really began in 1896 under the preaching of a young Welsh minister who had but recently returned from America. While in America he served a church in Scranton, Pennsylvania.
166. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 221. Cf. A. J. Rogues de Fursac: op. cit. p. 181
167. According to G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 184, the attempt to do so in America, failed. H. Bois: Q. R. P. R. bears the same testimony in regard to the attempts of certain French pastors. See p. 17 note.

168. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 225. This feature will be considered more in detail in Chap. 8 - "Revivals Evaluated."
169. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 184
170. This was not true of the work of Torrey and Alexander. For a report showing the extent of their work see G. T. B. Davis: Torrey and Alexander; the story of a World-wide revival, also J. K. Maclean: Triumphant evangelism; the three years' missions of Dr. Torrey and Mr. Alexander in Great Britain and Ireland. The methods of these men were, however, very much those of the newer revivalists.
 Another exception was the revival among the Scottish fisher-folk which occurred in 1922. For a study of this interesting movement see R. F. Anson: Recent religious revival among Scottish fisher-folk, Month - Vol. 140 - (1922) - p. 414-424; also Scotland ablaze with revival fires, Literary Digest - Vol. 73 - (March, 18, 1922) - p. 36
171. For a very complete, although uncritical report of this revival and its expression see H. S. Dyer: Revival in India. See also M. Abrams: The baptism of the Holy Spirit at Mukti, Missionary Rev. of the World, Vol. 19 - (New Series) - (1906) - p. 619-620, taken from the Indian Witness, April, 26, 1906.
172. H. S. Dyer: op. cit. p. 48-53
173. Ibid: pp. 54-58
174. Ibid: pp. 59-65
175. Ibid: pp. 70-77
176. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 186
177. For an interesting, although uncritical report of this movement see J. Webster: "Times of Blessing" in Manchuria (a pamphlet), also his book The revival in Manchuria.
178. See Introduction, p. xii, of C. G. Finney: Revivals of religion, (newly revised and edited with an Introduction and Original Notes by W. H. Harding) - Second edition.
179. J. Webster: "Times of Blessing" in Manchuria, p. 52
180. Ibid: loc. cit.
181. Ibid: p. 57

182. For a brief study of his life and work see F. D. Walker: More about the prophet Harris, Foreign Field, - Vol. 23 - (1927) - p. 136-141. A similar movement took place a few years later (1920) in Ashanti under the leadership of another black prophet, Samson Opon. For a description of that movement see F. D. Walker: The days of harvest in the white fields of West Africa - Chap. 2 - pp. 16-26
183. A report of a brief interview with the prophet, in his old age, is recorded in an article, The black prophet of the Ivory Coast, Methodist Recorder, - (Feb. 3, 1927) - p. 14.
184. It is reported that he was sent to prison for taking part in an insurrection of the Grebo tribes against the Liberian government. See F. D. Walker: op. cit. (Foreign Field) - p. 138
185. One story gives it as the result of a vision of the angel Gabriel which came to him while he was in prison. See F. D. Walker: op. cit.- (Foreign Field) - p. 140. For the story of a vow made upon being saved from a leopard see F. D. Walker: The days of harvest, etc. - p. 5
186. "The cross was the symbol of his mission. He held it up before the people who crowded around him, and told them that on the cross God's son died for them. When some of them mistook it for a fetich, he broke it before their eyes and threw it away, and then made another." F. D. Walker: The Story of the Ivory Coast, p. 14
187. C. W. Armstrong: The winning of West Africa, p. 41
188. In this connection see E. D. Smith: The shrine of a people's soul, p. 42. This fact really increases the wonder at Harris's success. It seems almost incredible that one could speak through an interpreter with any real eloquence or fire.
189. F. D. Walker: The story of the Ivory Coast, p. 15
190. "I am not a minister; I am only a voice crying in the wilderness. Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." C. W. Armstrong: op. cit. p. 40
191. Speaking of one of the services one writer says: "When they were assembled, the official 'preacher' did his best to conduct a service. An unlearned and ignorant man, it was but little that he could do. The people knelt in prayer, and either the preacher or one of the 'apostles' attempted in his uninstructed way to lead them. They would venture to sing a few lines - some snatch of song they had picked up. They sang feebly in pidgin-English - of which they did not understand a word. After the first verse - if they succeeded in getting so far - their stock

of crude rhythm failed, and they lapsed into a mere humming of the air. . . . A sermon? The very best their preacher could do was to repeat as much as he could remember of what he had heard Harris or one of the "minor prophets" (followers) say." F. D. Walker: The story of the Ivory Coast, p. 23

192. The French were afraid that the movement would result in a native uprising. They commanded the churches to be burned and the movement wiped out.
193. "It is impossible to estimate the number of converts. Fifty thousand would be a modest estimate; it may have been double that figure." F. D. Walker: The story of the Ivory Coast, p. 18
194. Death of an African prophet, by a Correspondent, Scots Observer, Nov. 17, 1929, p. 1.
195. J. Mooney: The Ghost-dance religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology - (1892-93) - Part 2 - pp. 645-1136
196. op. cit. Chap. 4 "The Ghost Dance among the North American Indians," pp. 32-44. (It is mainly from this chapter that I have drawn my material for this section)
197. Ibid: p. 32
198. Ibid: pp. 39-40
199. Report of a teacher on the Pine Ridge reservation. Reported by J. Mooney: op. cit. p. 916
200. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 37
201. In this connection see A. F. Chamberlain: "New Religions" among the North American Indians, Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. and Educ. - Vol. 6 - (1913) - pp. 1-49
202. J. Mooney: op. cit. p. 927
203. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 42
204. Ibid: p. 43
205. M. W. Beckwith: Some religious cults in Jamaica, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 34 - (1923) - pp. 32-45
206. This description is reminiscent of one given of the leader of the Bedwardite movement, a movement which took place shortly after a great earthquake in the West Indies, and which seems to

have had much in common with the revival described above. The author says: "The religious hysteria amongst the negroes showed no signs of abating. A black 'prophet,' a full-blooded negro named Bedward, made his appearance, and gained a great following. Bedward dressed in a discarded British naval uniform, and attended by a neurotic bodyguard of screaming hysterical negroes, made continual triumphal parades through the streets of Kingston (Jamaica). As far as I could ascertain the most important item in his religious crusade was the baptism of his converts in the Hope River at a uniform charge of half-a-crown per head!" Lord Frederick Hamilton: Here, There, and Everywhere, pp. 156-157

207. Beckwith does not record the significance of these figures. We may hazard a guess that they symbolized the Beast of Revelation - 666.
208. M. W. Beckwith: op. cit. pp. 32-33
209. W. M. Gewehr: op. cit. p. 110, mentions the same phenomena as appearing amongst the early Baptists in America. See also J. Moses: Pathological aspects of religion, Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. and Educ. - (Monograph supplement) - Vol. 1 - (1906) - p. 54. This phenomenon will be considered more in detail in Chap. 3 - "Revivals and Physical Manifestations".
210. M. W. Beckwith: op. cit. p. 33
211. The story of Mrs. Williston's religious experiences is enlightening on this point. Beckwith records that it was given to her in a sing-song fashion as if custom had given it a rote form. In the words of Mrs. Williston, it ran somewhat as follows: "I was not a great student. I left school in the first book. And after that I got spiritual at twenty-five. The Mammy was from Westmoreland. When there was shouting, I felt that I was almost shut out of the gate of heaven and I closed my eyes and said, 'Lord, if it is thy wish that I be separated, let it be thy will.' And I dreamt that I saw an angel and he bids me get a Bible and a Sankey and a robe with a double fold and a lantern which I'm to light on my journey. I didn't know how to pray until I got the Spirit and the Spirit teaches me to pray and sends me on the high-ways and hedges to bid others to come and to tell what a sweet Saviour I found, Jesus is Saviour in need and Saviour indeed. There is not a friend like the loving Jesus. op. cit. p. 33
- Some of the leaders seem to have had fewer qualifications than Mrs. Williston, for one man in speaking to Beckwith said, "I am the leader of the meeting, I and X----- because he owns the drum." Ibid: p. 34
212. op. cit. p. xi-xii of Introduction.

213. In dealing with this revival, V. J. Morgan: op. cit. speaks of it as though the people were uninfluenced by Christian teaching, and seems to completely overlook the significant fact that the leaders chose Biblical names. Morgan's use of such statements, when referring to the people, as "we would class them as non-civilized and non-Christian," and "they have their religion and we have ours," p. xii of Introduction, seem quite clearly to indicate his desire to class the revival as one of their own primitive religion.
214. This phenomenon, known as the "Holy Laugh", has appeared in many revivals. For examples see J. Moses: op. cit. pp. 54-55. This phenomenon will be studied more in detail in Chap. 3 - "Revivals and Physical Manifestations."
215. Quoted from Rasmussen by V. J. Morgan: op. cit. pp. xii-xiii of Introduction.
216. These movements will be studied more in detail in Chap. 7 - "Modern Revivalism."
217. The Christian Convention of the Northwest. . . . Union revival meetings conducted by B. F. Mills and J. W. Chapman.
218. Ibid.
219. See J. K. Maclean: op. cit. Also G. T. B. Davis: op. cit. For an unfavorable criticism of the movement see R. Williams: The true revival versus Torreyism.
220. See E. P. Brown: The real Billy Sunday. Also W. T. Ellis: The Billy Sunday book.
221. Rodney Smith: Gypsy Smith, his life and work.
222. Sunday has especially been noted for his modern methods. In this connection see J. H. Odell: The Mechanics of revivalism, Atlantic Monthly - Vol. 115 - (1915) - p. 585-592.
223. J. Stalker: Revivals of religion, E. R. E. - Vol. 10 - p. 756
224. Ibid.
225. In this connection see T. T. Frankenberg: Billy Sunday, his tabernacles and sawdust trails.
226. Chap. 12 - "Religious Epidemics" - pp. 146-162
227. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 161. For more comprehensive studies of these phenomena consult C. Mackay: Extraordinary Popular Delusions;

B. S. Gowen: Some aspects of pestilence and other epidemics, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 18 - (1907) - pp. 1-60; N. Webster: History of epidemics and pestilential diseases; Dr. J. F. C. Hecker: Epidemics of the Middle Ages. Also a very important article by B. Sidis: The source of human progress, J. of Abnor. and Social Psych. - Vol. 14 - (1919-20) - pp. 91-143

228. B. Sidis: op. cit. pp. 127-128, lists them under two heads: (1) war manias, (2) speculative manias. He seems to ignore the Temperance Epidemic in Ireland in the nineteenth century. For a full account see T. M. Augustine: Theobald Mathew, apostle of temperance, Catholic Encyc. - Vol. 10 - pp. 47-48
229. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 161

"Suggestion is an instrument of mechanism: faith is the instrument of freedom and initiative. Whenever religion has become dominated by mechanism it has inevitably degenerated into tyranny and superstition." - J. C. Flower

CHAPTER II.

REVIVALS AND CROWD PSYCHOLOGY

Introduction - Two distinct approaches in the application of crowd psychology to the study of revivals.

Although the work of Le Bon₁ is now widely discountenanced in many scientific circles₂, there is little doubt but that he gave the first great impetus to the scientific study of social psychology. Despite the fact that his "method is too purely descriptive to be permanently valuable as psychology,"₃ and that in common with many other writers he has given picturesque descriptions of revolutions and mobs, rather than sober studies of ordinary crowds, it still must be admitted that he has made certain lasting contributions. As Brett says:

"There is an element of truth in Le Bon's chief contention that crowd-mentality is inferior to the mental level of the same individuals acting separately: there is also undoubted truth in the view that emotional states are in some sense contagious." (4)

Nevertheless, as Dimond points out₅, Le Bon "popularized a doubtful distinction between the psychology of the crowd and that of the individual." Although popularized by Le Bon, this tendency "to treat the psychology of the crowd as if it were essentially different from the psychology of the individual" had its inception, according to Pratt₆, with the publication, in 1882, of Gabriel Tarde's: The Laws of Imitation."

In recent years more and more writers have come to feel the fallacy of such a distinction.₇ To postulate, as Le Bon seems to do, that man as an individual is governed by one type of mentality,

and in a crowd by a very different type of mentality, seems a definitely mistaken idea. This difference, Le Bon points out, is due to the power of suggestion and the desire to imitate, and his tendency is to speak of these factors as though they were created by the presence of the crowd. This is far from the truth. Pratt says:

"If we examine these phenomena . . . we shall see that they are plainly characteristic of the individual out of the crowd as well as in it, and that they are, moreover, by no means so simple as much mob psychology takes them to be. It will hardly do, therefore, merely to say that man is endowed with an instinct of imitation or suggestibility and stop with that." (8)

It has been just at this point that the whole matter of crowd psychology has been in need of restatement. As late as 1914, Graham Wallas could point out the necessity of getting rid of the "verbal ambiguities which are due merely to the employment of collective terms."⁹ That seems at last to have been accomplished and in place of Le Bon's doubtful distinction there has come rather full acceptance by sociologists of the fact that the behavior of the individual within and without the crowd is determined by his basic psychological equipment. Therefore, an understanding of any crowd demands a careful study of the personalities that constitute the crowd. As Cooley has shown, "'society' and 'individuals' do not denote separable phenomena, but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same thing."¹⁰

Throughout the rest of this chapter, in dealing with the psychology of the individual as a factor in a crowd, the writer purposes to follow along the lines set forth by Allport as expanded

by Kimball Young:

"Allport aptly remarks that 'the individual in the crowd behaves just as he would alone, only more so.' That is to say, his instinctive-emotional tendencies and his early infantile conditionings are released by the social facilitation of the crowd. While privately he would like to be violent, in the crowd he even goes beyond his own impulses and outdoes himself in his brutality, in his primitive responses." (11)

Almost every writer has had his own interpretation and special classification of crowds.¹² It is not in the scope or purpose of this study to compare the many diverse interpretations which have been given. It is my purpose to lift out those elements of crowd behavior which find expression in religious revivals and to study them carefully with a view to understanding their full psychological import.

In the application of crowd psychology to the study of revivals there appear to be two distinct approaches: A. the study of certain contagious phenomena, common to revivals, and yet not widespread enough to be considered as epidemics; and, B. the revival audience as a group subject to the laws of crowd psychology.

I propose to deal with the first of these briefly, and with the second at greater length.

A. The study of certain contagious phenomena.

(1) The laws of these phenomena.

A great deal of attention has been given to the study of contagious phenomena, but it remained for F. H. Giddings to formulate the Laws of Social Action. The working of these laws in revivals

can be easily demonstrated.

(a) The law of origin.

The law of origin is thus stated: "Impulsive social action is commenced by those elements of the population that are least self-controlled." It begins, in other words, with the more unstable. Cutten¹³ illustrates the working of this law in the case of some mill girls.

"In 1787, at a cotton factory at Hodden Bridge, Lancashire, a girl was thrown into convulsions by a mouse being put into her bosom. The next day three more were seized, and the following six more. The idea prevailed that a new disease had been conveyed in the cotton, and about thirty girls were affected, all of whom were cured by electricity." (14)

As Cutten intimates, the cure was probably as suggestive as the disease.

Applying the same law in a revival situation, we have the following interesting report of certain effects of the Ulster revival.

"The awakening had begun there, one day, in the mill. Two or three girls had been suddenly struck down at their work, exclaiming in intense agony, 'Lord Jesus, have mercy on me!' The others were startled, but went on with their work; and, that day, nothing further occurred. But, two days afterwards, the pent torrent broke forth with an increased force. One worker fell, then another, and another until the manager to prevent them falling into the machinery stopped the mill." (15)

It is easy to see that in both of these cases the least stable were most quickly affected. A very recent revival ably demonstrated the fact that the less suggestible persons are often left

untouched when the unstable have been deeply affected. "Torrey and Alexander found their work very difficult in Scotland. They were confronted with the characteristic reserve of the Scotch."¹⁶

(b) Law of extent and intensity.

Turning to the second law we read: "Impulsive social action tends to extend and to intensify in a geometrical progression."¹⁷ One individual influences another, the two influence four, the four influence eight, until like the ripples made when a stone is cast into a pool, the ripples of influence go off in continually larger and larger waves.

In the case of a revival, the original impulse is usually furnished by an individual, or a small group; and from that original impulse the motion is carried on "in ever widening ripples of suggestion and imitation, emotional action and reaction."¹⁸

F. M. Davenport has demonstrated the working of this law in the case of early Christianity¹⁹ and in the case of the 1857 revival in America.²⁰ The same law can be seen in action in the case of other revivals as the following reports of the Great Awakening indicate.

"In the midst of spiritual deadness Edwards began to proclaim anew the evangelical doctrines. Remarkable conversions followed and Edwards soon had the entire community under the spell of his preaching. People became deeply concerned about eternal things and came in great throngs to hear him. They even met in private houses day and night to talk religion and to pray for pardon. In six months, more than three hundred, or practically the entire population above sixteen years, were converted in Northampton."⁽²¹⁾

"From Northampton it spread with great rapidity in all di-

rections, to South Hadley, Suffield, Sunderland, Deerfield, Hatfield, West Springfield, Long-meadow, Enfield, Springfield, Hadley, and Northfield." (22)

"The revival spread from town to town through the whole Connecticut valley until one hundred and fifty communities in Massachusetts and Connecticut were visited with scenes similar to those which took place at Northampton." (23)

"So swift was the movement that there was written of it, 'Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows?'" (24)

(c) Law of restraint.

The third law states that: "Impulsive social action varies inversely with the habit of attaining ends by indirect and complex

means."²⁵ F. M. Davenport restates it as follows: "Sympathetic popular

movements tend to spread themselves with abandon, and are held in check only if there are a considerable number of individuals scattered through the population who are trained in the habit of control, who are accustomed to subordinate feelings to rational considerations and who act as bulwarks against the advance of the overwhelming tide of imitation and emotion."²⁶

The working of this law in a recent revival movement is seen when we study the Welsh revival (1904-05) as it expressed itself in Wales, and as it appeared when it was later imported into India. In Wales, as has been pointed out²⁷, the revival was comparatively free from physical manifestations, but when the same teachings were transplanted to India a different situation resulted. The reason for this is not far to seek. The revival in Wales was held in check by the higher classes who refused to be affected by it. The members of the learned professions and the business magnates who

held aloof from the revival acted as "bulwarks against the advance of the overwhelming tide of imitation and emotion."²⁸ When the revival was transplanted to India the bulwarks were removed due to the milieu being that of a more primitive people, and the wildest of excesses took place unchecked.²⁹

B. The revival audience as a group subject to the laws of crowd psychology.

When we turn to a consideration of the revival audience as a group subject to the laws of crowd psychology, we find that there is need for clear thinking.

(1) The nature and psychological setting of the audience and the crowd.

Some writers in dealing with this subject fall into the same error as do certain social psychologists³⁰ and deal with the revival audience as a crowd very little different in character from a mob. While the mob and the audience do have points in common they lie at almost opposite poles on the scale of collective behavior. Thus the audience is defined as a special form of collective behavior closely related to the crowd; really a form of institutionalized crowd.³¹

(a) The nature and psychological setting of the audience.

Turning, then, to the nature and psychological setting of the audience, we read:

"It (the audience) has much in common with the crowd, and differs only in the purpose and form of its organization.

That is to say, the configuration differs. The audience is less spontaneous. It is regulated in time and place. It is definite in purpose, and its organization limits the psychological effects produced." (32)

Certain factors mentioned in the above quotation are modified from time to time in the revival audience, the earlier revival audiences being on the whole more spontaneous than those of more recent times. Hence, many variations in the type of revival audiences are to be noted from attendants at the loosely organized Kentucky revivals to the attentive listeners at the meetings of Moody and Sankey.

Also, although the audience, or group, differs in form and organization from the crowd, it is true as Waterhouse declares, that "a group may exhibit all the crowd emotions in a moment of excitement."³³ In the following pages of this chapter it will be shown that the revival audience, due to the stimulation of excitement by the situation and the leader is led to exhibit such crowd emotions.

(1) Types of audiences.

Some study of various types of audiences is important. For my purpose it is only necessary to distinguish two types: (a) the information-seeking type, gathered together for the purpose of hearing a lecture, public address or sermon, and (b) the recreational type, gathered together for relaxation and amusement. In certain cases this distinction can be kept quite clear. For example, one would not go to a scientific address with the idea of being amused. Nor would one go to a farce for the express purpose of gaining information. In

some cases, however, we find no such clear distinction in types.

This is true in the case of a revival audience. While in most cases the revival audience is of the information-seeking type, there are times when it is transformed into the recreational type. In fact, in certain instances, many members of a revival audience go seeking not information, but amusement.

(a) The information-seeking audience.

The most common type of information-seeking audience is made up of people attending a public lecture. In the case of a revival group the sermon takes the place of the lecture. The more interesting the speaker proves to be, the more the interest of the individual is centered upon the speaker and the more marginal those about the individual become.

As will be shown later, in the revival meeting, a definite attempt is made at preliminary tuning of the audience. The more emotional and less stabilized is the revival meeting, the more obvious and primitive the tuning. The accepted way of tuning the revival audience is by the means of group singing. In this way all differences of social status are easily removed and a basis of common emotions and feelings is built up. (§) ₃₄

(b) The recreational audience.

The members of a recreational audience come mainly to be amused. Thus in a cinema the audience is carried along with the modicum of intellectual and the maximum of emotional interest.

As has before been mentioned there are times when the re-

vival audience becomes recreational rather than information-seeking. This may be brought about through the efforts of the speaker³⁵ or may result from the actions of someone on the platform or in the audience, or through the introduction of some ludicrous situation. An example of a revival audience transformed into an almost purely recreational audience is found in the following excerpt from a newspaper item reporting a revival meeting in an American city.

"Rosie, a monkey of great agility and with a sense of humor, was featured as "exhibit A" in Evangelist (revivalist) (36) Louise Nankivell's sermon attacking the theory of evolution Tuesday night at Bill Denton's tabernacle, 40 S. Case avenue.

The result was that Rosie almost broke up the meeting. She coaxed forth such shouts of laughter from the children in the orchestra seats of the old Miles Royal theater, turned tabernacle, that she was chained backstage during the sermon which pinned Darwin's hide on the fence.

Rosie was donated for the service by a local pet shop. When the curtain rose, she was seated like a perfect lady, on the platform with the evangelist, the evangelist's husband, Al Nankivell, and Denton.

'A pretty good first night,' Rosie must have thought as she looked out over the large audience. 'This beats being stared at in a cage.' Then she did a tailspin from the back of the chair and the children howled.

'How many of you honestly believe you descended from that?' Denton asked the audience, pointing at Rosie. 'Raise your hands.' They were all fundamentalists, (37) but Rosie let that pass, scratching an ear reflectively with a rear foot. The children shouted. Surely, the Ringlings (38) had a hand in this revival meeting." (39)

(2) Physical configuration of the audience.

As a rule any audience forms in a special structure of some kind. The meeting place has a distinct physical character, with seating arrangements designed to produce polarization of common attitudes. This has been true in revival meetings. Although in some of

the earlier movements the meetings were sometimes held in the open₄₀, for the most part meetings have been held in churches, auditoriums, massive tents₄₁, and more recently in "tabernacles." In all of these the seats are usually arranged in rows in front of the speaker's stand.

Thus the very relation of the leader to the audience is standardized. While the fact that the speaker occupies a pulpit or platform enables the speaker and the audience to see one another better, it also has the effect of setting the speaker off from those who compose the audience. Thus the audience in a sense looks up to the speaker; enhancing the passivity of the audience and the speaker's illusion of superiority. (§)

Hence the general form of an audience tends to produce crowd behavior, the many suggestions and influences of the place of meeting being such as to contribute much toward changing the audience from a mere physical aggregate into a group subject to the influences of crowd psychology.₄₂

(3) Psychological features of the audience.

Every audience gathers for a more or less definite purpose. The announcement of the meeting beforehand, and the fact that people talk about it to one another produces a definite preliminary tuning. The air of curiosity, expectancy, and tension which precedes revival meetings bears out this fact. (§)

In the case of an ordinary audience come to hear a speaker, several definite types of polarization will take place. When the aud-

ience first gathers there will be a feeble all-to-one type of polarization. When the speaker actually begins, the all-to-one type of polarization will become stronger as attention is centered on the speaker. This will finally be replaced by a kind of one-to-one relationship when the listener having become enthralled by what the speaker is saying will have only a marginal awareness of those about him.

In the case of revivals, however, we shall find that there is also a very definite attempt made at certain times to retain an awareness of others on the part of the individual members of the audience. While an all-to-one polarization is desired by the leader during his sermon, in the early part of the service, when the audience is being welded into a group, and after his sermon when decisions are being called for, the leader tries very definitely to arouse a type of polarization in which the awareness of other auditors will be definite instead of marginal. For without that polarization the group pressure which he desires will not be forthcoming. (5)

(b) The nature and psychological setting of the crowd.

For the sake of clarity a definition of a crowd seems essential. Young defines a crowd as:

. . . . "a contiguous and spatially distributed group which has a circularity of responses in common language and gesture toward each other, and shoulder-to-shoulder polarization toward some object of attention. The crowd has sufficient numbers to prevent intimate, face-to-face contact, especially in the presence of some stimulus which affords a common focus of attention." (43)

(1) Characteristics evident in crowds.

(a) Great suggestibility.

Man is by nature suggestible⁴⁴, sympathetic⁴⁵, and imitative.⁴⁶ As will be shown, in a crowd these reactions have a tendency to increase due to the influence of certain social factors which are not in play in the individual as such.⁴⁷

1. The place of suggestion in the lives of individuals.

One needs only to dip into such a book as Baudouin's great work on "Suggestion"⁴⁸ to realize the great place which this factor occupies in the lives of individuals. It may take either of two forms: (a) auto-suggestion, that which an individual suggests to himself, and (b) hetero-suggestion, that which is suggested by others. One example of each will suffice. Baudouin gives the following example of auto-suggestion; reported to him by a resident of Nancy:

"When I got out of bed one morning the window was wide open and the sun was shining brightly. The mere sight of the sun made me feel cheerful and warm. I put on very light clothing and went about my business with bare arms, and nevertheless felt a great deal warmer than I had felt during the last few days. Then I went to the window and saw that it had been snowing. A glance at the thermometer convinced me that the winter had set in. Immediately I felt cold; my teeth chattered and I began to shiver." (49)

Hetero-suggestion demands the presence of at least two individuals, and has two distinct phases: (1) an idea, imposed by the operator, is accepted by the subject; (2) this idea undergoes transformation within the subject into the corresponding reality. Again we turn to Baudouin for an example.

"Recall the case of the man sentenced to death, who was told he was to perish as the victim of a scientific experiment. A harmless prick was made in each of his limbs; a tap was turned on in the room and he was told the water running was his blood flowing from the wounds; believing this, he died." (50)

As a number of writers have shown⁵¹, the more primitive the individual the greater his instability, with its remarkable accompaniment of amenability to suggestion. The explanation of K. C. Mukerji that "the special sensitivity of children to suggestion is due to their want of sufficient knowledge"⁵² can be equally well applied to the mind of the savage. G. Galloway speaks of the extreme impressibility of primitive man to suggestion. He says: "The fact is well-known to anthropologists that frenzy, illness and even death can be induced by playing on the imagination of the savage. Here lies the secret of the strange power of the sorcerer and the medicine-man."⁵³

Although all men are subject in some degree to suggestion, the further we move up the scale of intelligence the more difficult it is for suggestion to work. This is due to the fact that "the greater mental coherency of civilized man enables him to criticize the impressions that come to him."⁵⁴

2. Reasons for the increase of this tendency in crowds.

How, then, are we to explain the high suggestibility of the crowd? What are the factors which make for the increase of suggestibility? In order to understand this it is necessary that we see how the crowd form of co-operation is affected.

What a man does in a certain situation is dependent not only upon his original nature, and the items to which he may give attention, but also to the actual amount of attention which he gives to the various items. Man distributes his attention to a greater or less degree by the means of deliberation, analysis and criticism. By means of deliberation a man keeps within the focus of his attention two or more objects or ideas which involve opposing tendencies to action. The idea finally attended to, the one which holds the attention, tends to get control of the motor centers and thus to work itself out in action thru the voluntary muscles. This tendency is referred to as dynamogenesis and ideo-motor action.⁵⁵ Each idea thus attended to represents the direct inhibition of the ideas not attended to. The action which thus takes place, after, and in a form determined by, such preliminary checking or inhibition, is deliberate action. Thus it may be said that to the extent that any response occurs without this preliminary inhibition it may be said to occur through suggestion as opposed to deliberation.⁵⁶

Crowd action is, then, co-operation produced by suggestion and imitation, that is, the suppression of inhibitions. Hence, the crowd does not create suggestibility, but increases it. This it does in two ways: (a) by weakening or banishing all inhibitory tendencies, and (b) by increasing the dominance over attention possessed by the central idea or impulse.⁵⁷

a. Weakening, or banishing of all inhibitory tendencies.

When people are massed together as is generally the case in

revival audiences there is easily brought about the disaggregation of the social consciousness. This is accomplished by the weakening or banishing of all inhibitory tendencies, including inhibitions to belief as well as inhibitions to action.

1. Inhibitions to action.

One of the things which gives to any individual a strong sense of his individuality is his ability to make voluntary movements. Any limitation of such movements has the effect of causing a shrinkage of that feeling of individuality. Boris Sidis even goes so far as to state this as a law: "Intensity of personality is in inverse proportion to the number of aggregated men."⁵⁸ He further explains this by saying that "the condition of limitation of voluntary movements can bring about a narrowing down of the field of consciousness with the conditions consequent on that contraction - all favorable to suggestibility."⁵⁹

That this limitation of movements occurs in revival audiences is not difficult to illustrate. Two examples, taken at random, are representative.

The first is taken from a study of the recent Welsh revival.

"Where people are so densely massed, real soul-work is made almost impossible. At Caerphilly, one evening, he (Evan Roberts) felt this so keenly, that he appealed to some of those already blessed to leave, and ease the pressure. But very few or none moved. Having appealed the second time in vain, he took a bold course, and left the meeting." (60)

The second example is taken from the letter of a woman missionary concerning a meeting during the Khassia Hills revival in India. She writes:

"It is impossible to describe the meetings, for they were meetings swayed by the power of the Holy Ghost. . . . I shall never forget the service on Friday morning. We arrived about 8 a. m. and found the chapel simply packed out, but we managed to get in through one of the windows." (61)

W. M. Gewehr mentions similar situations during the Great Awakening in Virginia; meetings composed of "large, closely packed crowds of men and women."⁶² In such situations it was only natural that the participants would give way to excesses.

Closely allied to the loss of voluntary movement is the loss of individual independence, bringing with it a diminished consciousness of the individual's responsibility. "The responsibility each might feel personally is passed on to the rest. The sense of being unnoticed in a crowd lessens it considerably; and a crowd will do what none of its members would do alone."⁶³

An excellent illustration of these facts is found in a quotation from a report of one of the meetings held by Billy Sunday in a large American city.

"On this occasion there are more than twenty thousand persons within the Tabernacle. . . . Twenty or thirty rows down the big congregation begins to blur in appearance, and individual faces are merged in the mass. The host, which is but an agglomeration of individuals, is impressive. The 'sea of faces' is more affecting than old ocean's expanse." (64)

In a situation such as the italics indicate one would expect the individuals who made up the audience to have a sense of being "unnoticed in the crowd." The revivalist soon demonstrated that members of a crowd will do collectively what few of them would care to do individually.

"First the evangelist (revivalist) asks the confessed Christians to rise. The great bulk of the congregation stands on its feet. Then he asks for those who were converted in special meetings, revivals of some sort or other to raise their hands. From three-fourths to four-fifths of the persons standing lift their hands in token that they were converted during revivals." (65)

As a corollary of the loss of individual dependence there is the increased sense of power which one gets from being a member of a great throng. Although the individual may be weak, the crowd is great and powerful.

"In all, the knowledge that our ideas and feelings are shared by many is encouraging. Thus a process of cumulative suggestion goes on, which tends to inhibit conflicting ideas and emotions and to give to those in the focus dynamic force and energy. Accompanying this exaltation is a feeling of omnipotence, and a consequent loss of the sense of personal responsibility." (66)

Because of this the ordinary inhibitions are thrown off and the individual often acts in the crowd as a primitive being, since due to the heightening of social instincts the individual tends to become more suggestible, more primitive in his reactions than he would be by himself. Thus although the more primitive the people, the more easily the crowd spirit is inculcated, it is possible for an intelligent individual to become savage in company

with the crowd. This has often been demonstrated in revivals. W. M. Gewehr records an instance of this at a meeting during the Great Awakening in Virginia. He tells how in a massive revival meeting scores of both blacks and whites, were prostrated for hours. Also he states:

"The power of suggestion in this revival is shown by the fact that even the more restrained were swept from their feet. Here were many of the first quality in the country, wallowing in the dust with their silks and broadcloths, powdered heads, rings and ruffles and some of them so convulsed that they could neither speak nor stir." (67)

It is the breaking down of the ordinary inhibitions to action, with the corresponding reinforcement brought to various motor impulses by the excitement of the revival which brings into being the many abnormal phenomena so often present in revivals. ⁶⁸

2. Inhibitions to belief.

Closely related to inhibitions to action, and in fact co-existent with them, we find in crowd behavior, inhibitions to belief. Due to the collective power of suggestion, primitive credulity takes the place of rational thinking. People will believe almost anything that comes as a suggestion from the crowd. Imagination becomes highly developed. People in a crowd experience unreality as though it were real. The examples of this in secular life are exceedingly numerous. One example will suffice:

"Persons who went through the siege of Paris saw numerous examples of this credulity of crowds. A candle alight in an upper story was immediately looked upon as a signal to

the besiegers, although it was evident, after a moment of reflection, that it was utterly impossible to catch sight of the light of the candle at a distance of several miles." (69)

In the religious field we find many examples of this characteristic of crowds. This report of the work of a healer-revivalist in the Southern part of the United States is especially enlightening. The cases of his cures that were reported were very numerous.

"A sample of this kind of cure, and at the same time a sample of the typical behavior of the crowd-mind, are afforded in the case of Benny Wilson. It seems that this young man had been a cripple since he was five years of age. He made his way to 'Brother Isaiah' on March 13th., and after much difficulty secured treatment. The crowd was much interested in Benny's case, and in general quite excited. After the treatment a dense crowd flocked around him in intense curiosity. They shouted, 'He is walking!'; others said, 'No, he is running!' Women screamed, while men swore terrible oaths to give vent to their feelings. The crowd was so thick about him that it was quite impossible for anyone to see what was going on, but from those who were near him it was subsequently found out that he had neither been running nor walking, but that he had been carried forward bodily by persons who had caught him under the arms. . . . Before he reached his home the rumor came back that he was in the same condition as before the treatment." (70)

In spite of this fact the credulity of the crowd was by no means exhausted, as the following bears witness.

"Another case . . . is that of an imbecile girl who was dumb. She was brought by her mother to be treated. While waiting on the outskirts of the crowd she began to mutter, doubtless in her usual fashion. The crowd took her to be a 'cure' and gathered around her to hear her verbigérations. She naturally grew excited and talked the more vehemently. The mother strove in vain to tell the crowd that the child had not even seen the miracle man." (71)

In many revivals claims just as absurd have been made con-

cerning the leader as were made about the healing powers of the 'miracle man' whom the crowds hailed as "Christ appearing on earth again."⁷² A. C. Underwood cites how this characteristic manifested itself in the Welsh revival.

"The wildest reports about Evan Roberts were implicitly believed by thousands in Wales. (73) People held that he could read their thoughts and knew the details of their past lives. Some thought he had the power of life and death. By many he was regarded as inspired, and it was deemed a sin to disobey his commands. In a chapel at Cwmavon he asked for the windows to be broken down and was immediately obeyed." (74)

- b. The increasing dominance over attention possessed by the central idea or impulse.

We have seen how a crowd may directly intensify an idea or impulse in the mind of one of its members, but it can also do so indirectly. This is done mainly by the large number of sources of suggestion which it brings to bear upon him. As J. B. Pratt has shown⁷⁵, the normal individual is able to withstand suggestion from one or two sources if they are not too strong, but the same individual will find it impossible to withstand the same suggestion when made fifty, a hundred, or a thousand times. The phrase from the philosophy of Mr. Dooley - "I believe anything at all, if ye only tell it to me often enough" - quoted by both J. B. Pratt⁷⁶ and F. M. Davenport⁷⁷ still continues to be typical of the average individual. It is still one of the secrets of successful advertising. J. B. Pratt's illustration⁷⁸ of its use in the case of "hand sapolio" can be demonstrated over and over. A modern illustration taken from contemporary American life is worthy of consideration.

Until very recent times very few American women smoked. At the present time smoking is very usual on the part of a large proportion. The provision of smoking rooms for women, in the best American hotels and theaters, bears testimony to this fact. Any normal woman had little difficulty in resisting the temptation to smoke subtly suggested to her by a picture of a well-dressed woman in a Paris gown, sitting in a graceful posture, as she leisurely puffed a cigaret. Again, the normal woman could see large window displays appealing to the woman smoker and still resist temptation. When, however, upon opening her copy of the leading women's magazine she was informed that no woman could be smart and not smoke, when advertisements in the tram cars suggested that wireless stars, cinema stars, society leaders - women who count - find smoking essential, or again when upon opening her newspaper she learned that only women who smoke can be nonchalant or have poise, when her theater program informed her that no formal dinner such as is attended by the wealthy and most select can be complete without cigarets, we do not wonder that her pride asserted itself, and she yielded. Thus what could never have been accomplished in other ways was made a fact due to the power of cumulative, indirect suggestion.

The force of repetition can easily be seen in the suggestions which the crowd members make to each other. The pressure which the crowd can bring to bear upon an individual by indirect suggestion is such as to make resistance unbearable. An example of this in a revival situation is given by A. C. Underwood, taken from a report by Henri Bois, of a meeting during the recent Welsh revival.

"At a meeting in Aberdare when believers were asked to rise, a young girl remained seated in one of the aisles. Her whole attitude and the expression on her face showed that she was much tormented. One of the revivalist ladies came down from the pulpit and sat beside her and exhorted her to give herself to Christ. At the same time dozens of simultaneous prayers burst forth from every corner of the chapel demanding God to convert this soul and give it peace. After the prayers the first verse of the hymn, 'Who is a pardoning God like thee?' was sung a dozen times or more. Emotion gripped every heart, and while the revivalist lady continued to supplicate the young girl, whose face was bathed in tears, the assembly repeated again its hymns and prayers. Before long the two women knelt on the floor to pray, and a delirious joy possessed the meeting. 'Diolch Iddos' sounded out; some clapped their hands in their joy, others sang standing with their arms outstretched to the sky." (79)

That the conversion of a lone individual should take place under such circumstances can easily be believed. For as the author says, "We have the whole suggestive power of an excited assembly centered upon one poor soul."⁸⁰ His concluding remark expresses very forcibly the strength of the pressure brought to bear in similar meetings. "It does not surprise us," he concludes, "to learn that some in similar circumstances took refuge in flight. The nervous tension was more than they could bear."⁸¹

A. C. Underwood cites another remarkable case showing the use of indirect suggestion, this time, by Evan Roberts, in answering the criticism of a sceptic. It was a rule with Evan Roberts never to argue with sceptics in his meetings; he preferred to bring the power of group suggestion to bear upon them.

"In one case, instead of replying directly to a sceptic, he cried out: 'Will all those who believe that Jesus Christ is God, please stand up.' The effect produced was incredible." (82)

In this instance Evan Roberts had substituted for his own testimony the testimony of practically the whole group.

(b) Primitiveness of reactions.

From what has been said it can be seen that the members of a crowd, whether it be a political convention or a revival audience, tend to be more suggestible, and therefore more primitive than the individual members would be by themselves. "The higher and more complex faculties are temporarily weakened by the influence of large numbers of like-minded fellows, and the more fundamental and simple reactions, no longer inhibited, have their own way."⁸³

1. The crowd tends to move on an emotional-instinctive level.

As was pointed out by G. Le Bon⁸⁴, and has since been verified by many other writers⁸⁵, men differ less in their emotional and instinctive reactions than they do in intellect and will. Hence as members of a crowd become merged into the group, the emotional-instinctive element becomes stronger as the critical judgment becomes weaker. Because of this the sentiments of a crowd become simple and exaggerated.

Thus, in great revival meetings the audience can be suddenly made to break out in tears, or to tremble with fear, only to have that reaction replaced by a feeling of great peace and joy. Two illustrations of this will be of interest, the first taken from a meeting at Fakumen during the Manchurian revival.

"On the sixth day the climax occurred. Never had such a scene been witnessed or even dreamt of. The audience of three hundred to four hundred were suddenly swept away by a torrent of weeping, passionate and deep. God alone could hear the heartfelt cries. . . . Soon, many, who had received pardon and peace, were pouring out their ardent prayers on behalf of the unsaved. All at once the thirty odd school boys were seized by a wave of feeling. Jumping up on the forms, some besought and implored the unbelievers standing around to repent of their sins and seek the Savior forthwith." (86)

The second illustration, reporting a meeting during the Khassia Hills revival in India shows a similar situation.

"There was a Christian who had been much used of God during the Revival, but who now felt himself under condemnation for having failed to speak when God told him to. He said he had grieved the Holy Spirit, and God was making him an example for his disobedience. He rolled on the ground and writhed in fearful agony; he screamed that a fire like the fire of hell was burning and devouring his heart. He begged of all to pray to God to forgive him. Several responded immediately, and judging by the groans and loud amens, the whole congregation seemed to be praying. The suspense for about fifteen minutes was almost unbearable. The sight was something like a forest in a storm. The people felt as if they were standing before the Great White Throne and were quaking with fear. . . . At last the man received the sense of forgiveness and rang out God's praises, which could be heard half a mile away, and the congregation joined him heartily in shouts of praise." (87)

So it is that the reaction of a crowd is of that type which E. D. Martin⁸⁸ refers to as the "all-or-none" type, and which results when all sensible discrimination and third alternatives are brushed aside, and everything is "utterly utter", - wholly good or wholly bad. And as G. Le Bon has shown⁸⁹ this is always the case with beliefs induced by the process of suggestion instead of engendered by reasoning.

The purpose of this section is to show how certain emotion-behavior and emotional accompaniments, as well as certain instinctive behavior, are found in revival meetings and also to show the part which they play.

It seems well at this time to give some explanation of the classification which will be used to distinguish emotions, emotional accompaniments, and instincts. At the present time there is a very definite controversy over the instinctive-emotional tendencies in behavior, as the following quotation shows.

"It was once rather common practice to distinguish somewhat sharply between the instincts and the emotions. McDougall in his Social Psychology (1908) paired off the major instincts with the major emotions. Watson in his Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist (1919) presented a long list of instincts and instinctive tendencies which were differentiated from emotions. Today Watson avoids the very word instinct and has replaced it with the word reflex; but more than that he has, like many other writers, done away with the sharp distinction between instinct and emotion. The present conception seems to be that the instinctive tendencies and fundamental emotions shall be considered together as the basic innate and original behavior patterns. If there is any distinction it lies in the locus in the organism where the reaction takes place." (90)

For the purposes of this study, however, it seems well to simply accept the concept of instinctive and emotional behavior as two distinct things. There is no exact agreement amongst psychologists as to what constitute the primary emotions. While A. Shand⁹¹ gives fear, anger, joy, sorrow, disgust, repugnance, and surprise, W. McDougall gives fear, disgust, awe, anger, negative and positive self-feeling, and the tender emotion.

I propose to use the following classification, borrowing

from various psychologists as indicated:

<u>a.</u> Fear	Shand and McDougall
<u>b.</u> Anger	Shand and McDougall
<u>c.</u> Love	Young
<u>d.</u> Awe	McDougall
<u>e.</u> Disgust and repugnance . . .	McDougall and Shand

Further, the writer feels that he has the right, while in the main basing his classification as above, to modify the various sections as the conditions may justify.⁹²

Closely akin and yet not so definite as to be classed as emotions are certain tendencies to action which must be considered. Some authors deal with them as emotions, others as expressions of complex instincts. They seem best dealt with under the title which I have adopted, that of "Emotional Accompaniments."⁹³ The first of these has for the sake of convenience been listed as tension, but is in reality a mixture of curiosity, mental strain, expectancy, and subdued excitement. The second one, laughter, while dealt with as an emotion by certain psychologists, has in the main defied any definite classification. Nevertheless, both of these emotional accompaniments are much in evidence in revival meetings and therefore demand consideration.

On the matter of instincts an even greater conflict has been raging than is the case with emotions. Influenced no doubt mainly by the Behavioristic school a great many American psychologists have given up the very concept of instincts.⁹⁴ Some equally scholarly writers as W. McDougall, J. Drever, W. Wells, and H. G. Wyatt, feel that the concept of instincts is indispensable.⁹⁵ In the present sit-

uation the writer, as in the case of emotions, proposes to adopt a classification of instincts suited to the needs of the study. For as Knight Dunlap shows, "Lists of instincts represent no fundamental psychological processes, but merely the convenience of the classifier: and any list which is convenient is as good as any other such list."⁹⁶

For my purpose it seems best to adopt the classification which was first given prominence by W. H. R. Rivers.⁹⁷ He divides the instincts into three groups: (1) those connected with the preservation of the individual - self-preservation, (2) those connected with the preservation of the race - sex, and (3) those connected with the preservation of the herd - gregariousness.⁹⁸

One point remains to be made clear. We are seeking to avoid a pit into which others have fallen. As one psychologist has declared: "We must not deal with human instincts as though they were animal instincts."⁹⁹ The truth of this statement will be kept to the fore in the following discussion. There will be no attempt to base — reactions upon animal instincts. I am, however, attempting to show the part which emotional-instinctive behavior plays in the lives of individuals under the impetus of group conditions.

a. The place of emotion in crowd behavior.

As has been stated, emotional behavior plays a great part in crowd action due to the fact that it provides a common basis upon which the members may meet.

"The things which are common to crowd members are the

universal emotions, as anger and fear A common response can be secured only to stimuli which impinge upon this body of emotions and possessions held in common. . . . The expression of the emotions is a sort of universal language in terms of which men meet and act together. Crowd behavior is not at all possible except on an emotional or sentimental level." (100)

Thus through the presence of some great emotion a group of people can be welded into a psychological crowd. Wm. McDougall gives an example of this in the case of the almost instantaneous spread of anger through a crowd of five thousand warlike savages in the heart of Borneo.
101

1. The more homogeneous the group the more easily are the emotions heightened.

In light of the above fact, the more homogeneous a crowd is as to its emotions, the more readily can those emotions be heightened. This is especially true in the case of a revival audience. Every revival audience is in the main homogeneous as to emotions due to a process of natural selection, by the means of which the members of the audience are chosen out of the community. Socially, intellectually, nationally, they may exhibit differences, but emotionally they have much in common. Notice this description of an audience of the American revivalist, Billy Sunday.

"The first thing that strikes one on entering Sunday's tabernacle is that there is an extraordinary homogeneity of the audience; without there are long rows of private automobiles indicative of the pilgrimage of the luxurious and the richly clad; the 'buses, the street-cars, the Subway, have been pouring hundreds of what seem to be individuals through the portals of the tabernacle. But when they are gathered, seated in rows, their eyes turned toward the platform, they seem to lose their distinctive

facial and emotional expressions. Scrutinize them as carefully as one may, they display a like-facedness (102) that never ceases to be a source of wonder to the perspicacious, sympathetic onlooker, and the more their conduct is observed the more one becomes convinced of their like-mindedness." (103)

2. Emotions given play in revivals.

a. Fear

One of the most basic emotions is that of fear. From very early times it has been recognized as one of the constituents of religion, as the oft-quoted line of Petronius bears witness: Primus in orbe timer fecit deos.¹⁰⁴ Among contemporary writers T. Ribot,¹⁰⁵ J. Leuba¹⁰⁶, and W. McDougall¹⁰⁷ have stressed its importance.

The emotion of fear may express itself in different ways¹⁰⁸ in the lives of individuals. While this is true of its manifestations in revivals¹⁰⁹ we need only to consider one or two outstanding types of its appearances.

(z) Fear of punishment.

The older revivalists many times made use of this fear of punishment. Through the power it exerted over the people revival audiences were at times driven almost to the point of frenzy. The fear of Hell and its consequences many times wrought havoc. It is no wonder that people sitting under the preaching of such revivalists as Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley could cry out in bitter despair, "What must I do to be saved?" What could not be accomplished by the preaching of one who went so far as to complain of the weakness of those who shrank from throwing children into paroxysms of fear by

talking of the horrors of eternal damnation?"¹¹⁰ One brief illustration from each of three illustrious revivalists will show the type of preaching which broke down the emotional dikes, loosing waves of fear which swept away individual control and engulfed whole audiences. Consider this gem from the repertoire of Edwards:

"You have often seen a spider or some noisesome insect when thrown into the midst of a fierce fire, and have observed how immediately it yields to the force of the flames. There is no long struggle, no fighting against the fire, no strength exerted to oppose the heat or to fly from it. Here is a little image of what you will be in hell, except you repent and fly to Christ."¹¹¹

Or this one from the preaching of Davenport:

"You poor unconverted creatures in the seats, in the pews, in the galleries, I wonder you do not drop into hell! It would not surprise me if I should see you drop this minute. You Pharisees, hypocrites, now, now, you are sinking into the pit." (112)

Even the great and gracious John Wesley could indulge in the following terrible illustration in his Sermon on Hell.

"What is the pain of the body which you do or may endure to that of lying in a lake of fire burning with brimstone? When you ask a friend who is sick how he does - 'I am in pain now,' says he, 'but I hope to be easy soon.' That is a sweet mitigation of the present uneasiness. But how dreadful would his case be if he should answer: 'I am all over pain, and I shall never be easy of it. I lie under exquisite torment of body and horror of soul, and I shall feel it forever.' Such is the case of the damned sinners in hell!" (113)

While an appeal of this kind is not common today, there are still some scattered examples of it. J. B. Pratt gives a quota-

tion from a sermon by a revivalist, Rev. S. B. Taylor, delivered in 1907, which is not very different in spirit from the examples previously quoted:

"I preach hell because God puts His special blessing on it, **convicting sinners and sanctifying believers**, arousing the Church to greater effort for the salvation of the perishing. . . . Hell has been running for six thousand years. It is filling up every day. Where is it? About eighteen miles from here. Which way is it? Straight down - not over eighteen miles, down in the bowels of the earth."
(114)

In a book printed as late as 1925 we find words which show that this appeal to fear is still looked upon as legitimate by revivalists. The writer says:

"Admittedly it (eternal punishment) is the most horrible of themes. Well might one go into the detailed description of some charnel house, with all its gruesomeness emphasized, putting into it all the realism possible, . . . and detail the horrors of eternal punishment. . . . Eternal punishment awaits every sinner and is unavoidable. It is true that fear is a disorganizing motive, but the fear of hell is wholesome. There are more ideal reasons for serving God than the fear of eternal punishment, but it is well for every human heart to have a wholesome sense of fear in it. If a sinner cannot have a better motive, let fear cause his soul to strive to avoid the terrors of hell. This will be a good theme for the Evangelist (revivalist). . . . let him draw the picture in all of its terror-striking facts. It will prove a wholesome, purifying influence."(115)

The effects of such appeals to fear have been tremendous. G. B. Cutten tells us that under such preaching during the Kentucky revival, hell was portrayed "so vividly that persons would grasp the seats to prevent falling into the burning abyss which they saw yawning at their feet." 116 We are told by H. S. Dyer of similar cases

during the Khassia Hills revival in India. One man, through the fear of eternal punishment, "screamed in terror."¹¹⁷ Miss Dyer also tells of a girl who under similar conditions "threw herself across a bench and fairly writhed for two hours."¹¹⁸ (§)

(y) Of immediate retribution by God.

Although the appeal to fear of eternal punishment is not so much used by revivalists as it was in earlier times, appeal is still made to the fear of God's wrath. The following quotation shows very clearly how one prominent American revivalist used the appeal of fear of the immediate retribution of God. The report of the revivalist's words is taken from an authorized stenographic report in the daily paper of the city in which he was preaching. The meetings had not been so successful as he had hoped and in speaking of this the revivalist declared:

"If this hardness of heart continues until the end of this meeting, I say to you that God's wrath will fall upon this community. There will be more funerals following this revival than you have had in your town for ten years. Mark that prophecy." (119)

Unluckily we have no report given of the psychological effects which followed his pronouncement, but we can imagine that it would not pass unnoticed.

(x) Of censure by the revivalist or the people.

In some of the older revivals the very appearance of the revivalist was such as to inspire terror in the hearts of the listen-

ers. (§) In modern times people are not so easily stirred; nevertheless, there is within all of us the latent fear of censure by others. Most of us desire to be conventional; few of us desire, or at least have courage enough, to become a completely emancipated individual.¹²⁰

Thus the desire to escape the censure of the revivalist or that of the people¹²¹ has often been used as a means of causing people in a meeting to act as they would not otherwise. Many times the two fears are caused to interact so as to reinforce each other. The following reported from a recent American revival shows the type of censure which has its effect upon those not so involved, causing them to seek to escape such censure. A clergyman reports:

"I hear him (the revivalist) say that 'if any minister believes and teaches evolution he is a stinking skunk, (122) a fraud, a hypocrite, and a liar.' The night he said this I privately remonstrated with him. A short time after this, in another service, he again attacked believers in the evolutionary theory, and turning to where I sat, he clenched his fist and shaking it in my direction, he exclaimed with fearful venom: 'Stand up, you bastard evolutionist; stand up with the infidels and atheists, the whoremongers and adulterers, and go to hell.' The last words were shrieked with every possible violence of gesture. I did not stand up." (123)

Again we have no observer's report of the effect of these words, but such a scene would certainly inspire fear of censure on the part of those who witnessed it.

b. Anger.

As a natural outgrowth of the emotion of fear we find anger expressing itself.¹²⁴ As A. Shand says: "Fear tends to elicit anger in support of its end when its impulse is obstructed."¹²⁵ And as S.

G. Dimond contends¹²⁶ was true of the Methodist revival, this may express itself in anger against the revivalist, against the devil, or even against God.

Anger against the revivalist is frequently illustrated in John Wesley's: Journal.¹²⁷ Beriah Evans tells us of a woman who during the Welsh revival maintained such an attitude of anger toward the devil that it turned to a genuine hatred. He records:

"To Mrs. Jones, Satan is as much a living reality as any of her neighbors are. Every reference to him in public prayer or song is accompanied by a clenched fist and a vigorous stamp of a well-soled boot." (128)

Anger against the deity is mainly evidenced on the part of those who are not in sympathy with the purposes of the meeting, as is usually anger against the revivalist. The first of these can be classed under the term of blasphemy and many instances of it are recorded in the Methodist revival, in the Kentucky revival, and in the Ulster revival. In most cases acceptance of a new attitude followed through association with the crowd.

On the part of those in sympathy with the revival we find anger manifested many times by the revivalist or by the people, against those who differ with the teachings presented.

In some of the more recent revivals the anger of the revivalist against those who differ with him is apparent in his utterances. Sometimes these are such as to be almost unprintable and certainly one wonders how a professed follower of "the gentle carpenter of Nazareth" could be guilty of such venom-filled remarks. The only

explanation would seem to be that under the stress of a great emotion men put aside the higher faculties and find guidance from other centers.

The following utterances of a revivalist, popular in America only a few years ago, illustrate very forcibly the point made above:

"A young man or woman who fights against the Christian life cannot measure character with a grizzly ape or a yellow dog." (129)

"Let me say that when you little vile hounds attack me you are a liar and a coward, for it is at the cause of Jesus Christ and all the churches united in these meetings. You are striking over my shoulders. You little bum, I'm calling your bluff." (130)

Another illustration of such a manifestation of anger is given added value by the fact that it was reported by one who was a sympathetic witness of the meetings. He presents this picture:

"There had been a large attendance of men representing certain secret orders, and there was but little response to the evangelist's (revivalist's) appeal. The preacher asked that all heads be bowed in prayer, and he launched into an entreaty to the Divine Giver of all things the like of which was never heard by a local audience. He was feeling keenly the indifference on the part of the congregation he most desired to reach, and in his prayer (131) asked God to visit death, if necessary, on the heads of those who were standing in the way of progress of the meeting. He said that he was sure that the reason more spirit was not manifest was that men in league with the devil (132) were doing their utmost to bring defeat upon the meetings, and in a burst of impassioned oratory, more in the nature of a command than a supplication, asked that crape (133) be made to adorn the doors of all in the city who were not on the right side of the battle for souls." (134)

We can only explain such utterances on the basis of anger

turning at times to a veritable hatred of those whom the revivalist envies, or who disagree with him. As one recent writer has said of the modern revivalist; his technique "consists simply in vilifying in the most unbridled language whatever group in the community fails to meet with his transient approval." (135)

This attitude on the part of the revivalist has much to do with arousing the same attitude on the part of the people.¹³⁶ That the people do maintain the same attitude at times is borne out by a study of various revivals. It is manifest many times against people of another sect, people more liberal in belief, or those looked upon as atheists, unbelievers, or unconverted. The following report of a meeting during the Ulster revival shows this to be true.

"I was myself present," says an educated clergyman, "in a Presbyterian meeting house (Belfast), at a prayer (137) offered with the most frenzied excitement and gesticulations that God would, there and then, descend and strike all the unconverted to the earth."(138)

It is enlightening to hear, from the reporter, that the prayer "was accompanied throughout by a storm of cries, and groans, and exclamations, . . . all having the true hysterical sound."¹³⁹

c. Love

The appeal to the tender emotions really had its beginning in the work of Dwight L. Moody.¹⁴⁰ He stressed the "Love of God." As a result his audiences came forward with tears in their eyes and with smiles upon their faces. Thus, one writer declares, "Moody was translating into popular language and illustrating in homely ways,

much of the teaching of Frederick Maurice." 141

In some of the later revivals, however, the appeal to the tender emotions is by no means put to so legitimate a use. Thus we are told that this appeal was much used in the work of R. A. Torrey and C. M. Alexander, and with great effect. But any serious student of the religious consciousness would question such use as the following report indicates.

"Dr. Torrey was preaching with great power, and in the course of his address he said: 'Some of you young men are murdering your mothers by your reckless lives.' No sooner had he uttered these words, than there rose in the back part of the Hall a man who cried out, with his hands extended in the air. 'I've killed my mother! I've killed my mother!' He rushed up the aisle and was taken by a worker to the enquiry room near by." (142)

Since the days of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey, singing has held an undisputed place in the technique of revivals as a most effective means of arousing the tender emotions. 143 And since that day practically every revivalist has carried an accomplished singer along with him, unless the revivalist is himself a singer. 144 Under some of these singers, it has been recorded, that audiences were melted and electrified. Because of his ability to use certain appeals, it was said of C. M. Alexander that he was "more than a choir conductor; he was a crowd conductor." 145 The proof of this is evident in the following example of such "crowd-conduction" by an appeal to the tender emotions.

"Following this inspiring series of experiences Mr. Alexander announced 'Where is My Wandering Boy To-night?' and the vast congregation joined lustily in singing. 'Fling

open your hearts and let in Jesus Christ to-night!' he exclaimed between the verses of the song. 'Does that begin to get hold of your heart, and are you trying to harden it? Don't do it! Let your heart open up, and let in your mother's Saviour to-night. You may have bolted and barred it for forty or fifty years, but fling it open to-night and let Him in! Let Him in!'. . . . Then, not from a dozen, but from hundreds of throats there arose in plaintive, pleading tones that brought tears to the eyes, a subdued, but strong volume of sound from the fathers in the audience who had wandering boys scattered far and wide over the face of the earth." (146)

During the Welsh revival (1904-05) the appeal was almost entirely to the tender emotions. This appeal is still the chief stock in trade of most revivalists. As J. B. Pratt says, the appeal continues to be an emphasis upon "the love of the father for his prodigal son, the love of Christ on the Cross, the picture of God stretching out his arms to the sinner, etc." ¹⁴⁷

That there can be a legitimate use of this appeal no one would deny, but the revivalists have tended to misdirect men's energies by polarizing their emotions about the wrong things.

d. Awe

Using the word awe as does Wm. McDougall, as made up mainly of a combination of wonder and fear ¹⁴⁸, we find that there is a very definite place for this feeling in most revivals. ¹⁴⁹ Those in attendance many times stand in awe of the revivalist, especially if he is of the type of personality displaying hypnotic influence. F. M. Davenport testifies to this concerning C. G. Finney and gives many examples ¹⁵⁰ showing how people were so awed by his presence as to sometimes lose complete control.

This sense of awe is also increased by the sense of wonder that obtains concerning the revivalist. A. C. Underwood tells us¹⁵¹ of some of the most absurd claims that were made concerning Evan Roberts but which were implicitly believed because of the awe in which he was held.

Sometimes also the physical surroundings of the meetings are such as to increase this sense of wonder. This was especially true of the Kentucky revivals where the meetings were held at night by the flickering blazes of torches and camp-fires. One sees this especially clearly in one of F. M. Davenport's descriptions:

"Nothing was lacking to stir to its profoundest depths the imagination and emotion. . . . It was at night that the most terrible scenes were witnessed, when the camp-fires blazed in a mighty circle. . . . Beyond was the blackness of the primeval forest, above the night wind and the foliage and the stars. As the darkness deepened, the exhortations of the preachers became more fervent, . . . there rang out the shout of ecstasy, the sob and the groan." (152)

The appeal to the "awe-full" and the solemn is still used although more subtly and perhaps more purposely. A description of a more modern use of the appeal is found in a work on D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey. Thus concerning the preparation of Bingley Hall at Manchester for their meetings, we are told:

"Not a sound of footsteps is heard, for the floors of the galleries, as well as of the area, have been laid with sawdust. The noiselessness consequent upon the arrangement is not a mere negative advantage, for the unusual stillness in so vast a throng adds wonderfully to the solemnity of the audience." (153)

On the part of certain revivalists there is an attempt to transform this feeling of awe into a definite negative self-feeling, or submission. In this they are often quite successful, for the efforts of the revivalist are supplemented by the tendency of the individual in a group to become impressed with his need of submission to the wishes of the group. As a result he tends to become more and more plastic in the power of the forces working upon him.

e. Repugnance and disgust.

According to the social psychologists that which is repugnant to us has a tendency to arouse the reaction of disgust. Many times this reaction has been made use of in revivals. Under the preaching which he hears the individual is impressed by the loathsomeness of his sins. As a result there comes over him a feeling of disgust that he should ever have been guilty of committing such offenses. And as a result he determines to be rid of that which is so loathsome to him.

The legitimacy of this appeal cannot be doubted. The facts of the case are, however, that it has not been used as much as it might have been. W. P. Paterson has pointed out¹⁵⁴ that this appeal is one which might conceivably be given new emphasis at the present time. To the mind of the writer it is an appeal which has within its reach the most effective of motives.

3. Certain emotional accompaniments.

Many writers have pointed out the fact that the emotions as they find expression in the lives of individuals may be very com-

plex. This is due to the fact that memories and thoughts play an important part in arousing them.^{154-a} In addition, there are many different shades of emotion under any one type.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the interplay of emotions makes their study and comparison difficult. It is easy to see, then, that there are certain emotional states which defy classification as actual emotions. Two of these are of interest in our study.

a. Tension

This is in reality an emotional state resulting from a great many factors. It seems to be a mixture of curiosity¹⁵⁶, mental strain, expectancy and subdued excitement.

Manifestations of curiosity and wonder seem to indicate the state of expectation and excitement which was induced on the part of John Wesley's hearers upon first coming in touch with him. This state of "tension" prepared the people for an unquestioning acceptance of his message.¹⁵⁷ John Wesley's description of the beginning of his work at Newcastle tells how a crowd of from twelve to fifteen hundred people stood gaping and staring upon him in profound astonishment.¹⁵⁸

The sense of mental strain, expectancy and subdued excitement has often been the herald for great revivals. J. B. Pratt says¹⁵⁹ that this was very notably the case with the revival of 1857 (as it began in America), which grew out of the mental strain¹⁶⁰ resulting from the financial crisis. This psychological condition was utilized by the six persons who instituted the Fulton Street prayer meeting.

In the revivals of Edwards and Whitefield, and even in the meetings of D. L. Moody and the Welsh revival this preparatory process can be seen.

Thus the process of welding an aggregate of individuals into a psychological crowd often times begins long before the revivalist appears. The reputation of the leader as a "soul-saver" sometimes, as A. C. Underwood phrases it, "will work wonders."¹⁶¹ It is said that "Moody and Torrey came before their audiences with all the prestige attaching to men who were known to have won thousands of souls. Their hearers were in a mood of expectancy."¹⁶²

Although this mood has caused certain revival groups to be influenced by the leader in ways which he seems not to have intended¹⁶³, some of the more recent revivalists definitely seek to arouse this feeling of tension on the part of the people. (§)

b. Laughter.

Another emotional accompaniment worthy of consideration in this connection is laughter. The actual emotional content of laughter has long baffled psychologists. The form which it takes has much to do in determining that content. "Sympathy and affection may be components of gentle humor; dislike, envy, anger, and even hatred may enter into other forms."¹⁶⁴ However, the definition of laughter given by G. W. Crile, a prominent psychologist, is of interest to us in showing why laughter is one of the emotional accompaniments of many revivals. He maintains that laughter is "a release of physiological tensions."¹⁶⁵

We find that laughter expresses itself in two ways in revivals: (1) The members of the revival group laugh with one another; or (2) the members of the group laugh at those without the group with whom they differ or whom they dislike. The leader, in his guidance, seeks to avoid ridiculing his audience. For as a psychologist he knows the truth of Kimball Young's statement that "laughter in a crowd reveals the sense of superiority; it is always egocentric and self righteous. In a crowd we always laugh at others, never at ourselves. To ridicule a crowd is to put oneself in grave danger of becoming an object of its attack."¹⁶⁶

A few illustrations of laughter as it expresses itself in revival meetings will be valuable data. First of all I deal with cases in which the members of the crowd laugh with one another. One does not read far in the literature of modern revivalism before he finds that many of the things said and done have for their purpose the production of laughter. When Billy Sunday boasts that he knows "no more about theology than a jack-rabbit knows about ping-pong", it seems a justifiable suspicion that he is seeking to arouse the laughter of the audience. Joseph Collins maintains that the audiences are equally desirous of finding something at which to laugh.

"One cannot fail to be impressed," he says, "with the fact that they foregather to be amused as well as to be edified. They break into loud laughter and hearty applause when the presence of delegation so-and-so is indicated by a sheep bell, deeply symbolic of return to the fold, or the chanting of a doggerel in praise of the revivalist which has been put together laboriously on some suburban Parnassus."⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

This desire for amusement may even interject itself into the singing. The so-called "Gospel Hymns"¹⁶⁸ are sometimes used to provide fodder to feed the flame of the crowd's emotional fire. The following report concerning a meeting which Mr. Sunday held in Boston bears this out.

"After the sermon, after the last trail-hitter had reached the platform, the immense congregation held its place, singing over and over again the familiar songs. . . . The least hint or incident was sufficient to start the singing off on a new line. 'The old-time religion' was sung with gusto through its almost interminable applications. 'It was good enough for mother', 'father', and all the rest; when some bright genius interjected the name of Billy. 'It is good enough for Billy', and off it went again; then 'Rody', (169) 'Ma', (170) and 'Brewster', (171) and so on. And there's no telling but the crowd would be there yet and still singing had not Mr. Sunday lifted his hand for silence, offered a brief prayer, dived into his big coat and with Ma 'beat it' (172) for the door of his automobile." (173)

Two examples of the arousing of laughter as the means of ridiculing those who differ with the group follow. In recent revivals much of this attack has centered around the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy. In most cases the audiences in revivals are made up of the poorly-educated and less intelligent groups, naturally willing to deride that which they do not understand.¹⁷⁴ This derision may be aroused through the use of certain songs, or the use by the revivalist of derisive language.

As an example of the first type I quote from a song sung as a duet by the Nankivells at their meeting, the report of which I quoted previously.¹⁷⁵

"I'm so glad I don't believe in evolution,
That my ancestors once lived up in a tree.
The Bible tells me God is my creator,
And that is plenty good enough for me." (176)

It is easy to see why, in an audience where the preponderating majority were fundamentalists, the singing of this duet would be followed by peals of laughter. The same result could be expected of the following representative utterance of an ultra-conservative.

"I do not wish to meddle with any man's family matters, or quarrel with anyone about his relatives. If a man prefers to look for his kindred in the zoölogical gardens, it is no concern of mine; if he wants to believe that the founder of his family was an ape, a gorilla, a mud turtle, or a monad, he may do so. . . . I prefer that my genealogical table shall end as it does now, 'with Cainan, which was the son of Enos, which was the son of Seth, which was the son of Adam, which was the son of God,' rather than invent one which reads, 'which was the son of a skeptic, which was the son of a monkey, which was the son of an oyster, which was the son of a monad, which was the son of mud!' --- a genealogical table which begins in the mud and ends in the gravel, which has a monad at the head, a monkey in the middle, and an infidel at the tail." 177

b. Instincts brought into play in revivals.

The place of the instincts in religion has been considered by a number of writers. Very few writers on revivals, however, have given much attention to the part which the instincts play in such movements. It remained for S. G. Dimond¹⁷⁸ to make the first really comprehensive study of their part in a revival movement.

It is my purpose here to consider the part which instincts play in revival movements, and as previously stated¹⁷⁹ I shall follow the classification suggested by W. H. R. Rivers.

1. Self-preservation

As R. H. Thouless declares¹⁸⁰, this division might almost be given the name of the instincts of self-preservation, being in fact a compound of several instincts: (a) those which subserve principally the end of nutrition, and (2) those which determine conduct in danger (e. g. the instinct of flight and aggression). While the first of these does not enter into the reaction of an individual in a revival, the second may quite readily do so.

As has been shown earlier in the chapter, in practically all revivals the appeal to the emotion of fear is made. This being the case it is only natural that the obverse of that emotion should come into focus. Hence there arises the instinct of flight. In some cases this results in the flight of the individual from the assembly; at other times it results in flight to the mourner's bench. Revivals, both ancient and modern, furnish examples of people's seeking in one of these two ways to preserve self.

2. Sex.

In this discussion I shall use the term "sex instinct" in a somewhat narrow sense. By the place of sex in revivals, I shall mean those manifestations of sex often occurring in revivals which have a somewhat pathological character. This is only for the purpose of classification¹⁸¹, and it is with no idea of accepting the tenets of the erotogenesisists.¹⁸² However, if we are to understand revivals fully we must be willing to open our eyes to those things which, although true, may be decidedly unpleasant.

One or two quotations concerning the part which the misplaced sex instinct may play in revivals will be sufficient at this time, since the subject will be considered more at length in a later section.¹⁸³

In the Kentucky revivals, we are told, a "Vigilance Committee" had to be appointed in order to keep separate the men and women who sought to embrace each other in the midst of the religious ecstasy.¹⁸⁴

The following testimony is also worthy of interest. John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community wrote:

" . . . revivals breed social revolutions. All the social irregularities reported in the papers followed in the train of revivals; and so far as I know, all revivals have developed tendencies to such irregularities. . . . Religious love is a very near neighbor to sex love, and they always get mixed in the intimacies and social excitement of revivals. . . . Revivals lead to religious love; religious love excites passions." (185)

Even the Rev. S. Baring-Gould sounded a warning concerning the dangers of undue religious excitement, when he said:

"Spiritual exhaltation runs naturally, inevitably, into licentiousness, unless held in the iron bands of discipline to the moral law. . . . The religious passion verges so closely on the sexual passion, that a slight additional pressure given to it bursts the partition, and both are confused in a frenzy of religious debauch." (186)

Finally, whether Theodore Schroeder's words, quoted below, be true or not, we shall see later in the study.¹⁸⁷ At any rate, where there is so much smoke of sex abberation there would seem to

be some fire of sex instinct. Note Schroeder's statement: "A study of some years, has led me to the following conclusions of fact: Every intense and widespread religious revival has produced increased sexual irregularity."¹⁸⁸

3. Gregariousness

In discussing the part which gregariousness plays in revivals I have again made use of a term which will meet my specific needs. For my purposes there is no need to go into a minute consideration of the points of similarity and difference between "gregariousness" and the "herd instinct."¹⁸⁹ It is enough to note that the tendency of individuals to seek to group together finds expression in revivals. This tendency, as K. Young says, "is something more, on the one hand than the mere instinct that is born in us - though that enters into it - and something less, on the other, than the more elaborate development of ideas and sentiments that makes up institutions."¹⁹⁰

It is this, then, which drives people to seek the presence of others and to come into the presence of the group. In our modern civilization where solitude is little known, it would seem that the desire for group contact would be fully met. In the main, this is true. In some of the earlier revivals, however, as will be shown later¹⁹¹, this desire for companionship played a great part.

The effectiveness of certain present-day revivalists is due to the fact that people living in the "hinterlands" find in the revival meeting an opportunity to temporarily escape the drab monot-

ony of their lives, and to meet with their fellows in a communal group. A recent writer thus explains the effectiveness of revivalists in certain parts of the United States. He says:

"The South and the Middle West are the two most fertile fields for evangelists (revivalists), and both sections are notoriously ill-provided with decent public amusements. For the same reason the Ku Klux Klan (192) flourishes in the same regions. The drab monotony of existence demands some relief. If the poverty and sparseness of the population make it impossible to support theaters and concert halls, . . . the range of emotional outlets is sharply restricted." (193)

Still one other factor of the gregarious instinct exerts an influence upon revivals and finds expression therein. As Wm. McDougall writes: "We find the gregarious satisfaction in our own peculiar set." ¹⁹⁴ How true this is in revivals. We have already shown something of the homogeneity of the revival group, made so through a process of natural selection. No wonder then that such groups furnish a logical ground for the expression of the gregarious impulses of men and women.

(2) The place of the leader in guiding a religious crowd.

In the final analysis we cannot understand the reactions of a religious crowd unless we understand the methods by which the leader manipulates it. His main weapon is to render the members of the group suggestible, and thus amenable to his guidance. It will be well, therefore, to consider the methods which he uses to accomplish this end.

(a) Methods used by the leader to render the audience suggestible.

An expert on the art of public speaking declares that there are five methods which can be used by the speaker, in rendering the audience suggestible.¹⁹⁵ Some of these are used by revivalists.

1. By avoiding suspicion and securing the confidence of the audience.

Most revivalists accomplish these two things by rapidly showing the members of the audience that they (revivalists) are on the same social level as their listeners. Among the more recent revivalists this is usually accomplished through the use of the argot of the people, and through making no pretense to culture or learning.¹⁹⁶ Most revival audiences are composed of those of only mediocre opportunities for culture and of middle class means. In the light of these facts the revivalists' denunciation of the "idle rich" makes a great appeal to the audience.

"Thus it is by no means to be taken for granted that they are playing the hypocrite when they assail furiously the better educated and more civilized folks of the community they address. Doubtless they are sincerely convinced that a man who can and does read a French book, pay money for opera tickets and unblushingly confesses that Discobolus delights him, is certainly damned as an enemy of God and the people." (197)

Let us grant that it is not hypocrisy on the part of the revivalist, but instead that "he has not allowed anything to break the oneness with common humanity."¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, let us also frankly face the fact that as a good psychologist the revivalist thus avoids suspicion and secures the confidence of those whom he

wishes to guide.

2. By the use of authority.

Although this device seems to be contradictory to the first it is in reality only supplementary. For, as W. D. Scott declares, "A man who is regarded by his audience as one speaking with authority presents his ideas, and they are accepted without question, and in so far as they fail to awaken a due amount of questioning and criticism we have an example of suggestion."¹⁹⁹

The maximum effect upon the audience comes if the arrival of the speaker has been well-heralded. Again, if the revivalist is one of those strong characters looked upon as an authority in his field, the willingness of the audience to be led will be greater.

"Strong characters always exercise suggestion on the weaker. Prophets and founders of religion are but rarely persons of outstanding intelligence, but they are always strongly-marked characters, whom the auto-suggestion of their particular monomania endows with an extraordinary power of exercising suggestion on others." (200)

There seems to be a craving of human nature for authority. This has manifested itself continually throughout human history.²⁰¹ It is difficult to explain the emergence of the leader; but that by his authority he can sway the group with whom he deals no one will deny. By the use of authority, he molds their thoughts and fashions their lives.

3. By the continual use of repetition.

The use of affirmation and repetition as the means of secur-

ing the suggestibility of an audience has long been understood. Thus G. Le Bon explained in his pioneer work that:

"Affirmation pure and simple, kept free of all reasoning and all proof, is one of the surest means of making an idea enter the mind of crowds. The conciser an affirmation is, the more destitute of every appearance of proof and demonstration, the more weight it carries.

Affirmation, however, has no real influence unless it be constantly repeated, and so far as possible in the same terms. It was Napoleon, I believe, who said that there is only one figure in rhetoric of serious importance, namely repetition. The thing affirmed comes by repetition to fix itself in the mind in such a way that it is accepted in the end as a demonstrated truth." (202)

Hence we need not wonder that in the case of most revivalists their preaching is of a well-defined type. Their sermons are not usually marked by proof or argument, but by affirmations which are skillfully repeated in a variety of ways.

Chapter II.

1. Mainly as set forth in his Psychologie des Foules, passim.
2. "The best known book dealing with crowd psychology is The Crowd, by M. Le Bon. This is a curiously unscientific work, which combines interesting and valuable observations with a fanciful background of psycho-physiological theory and a slipshod method which allows the author's political and other prejudices to color his observations." R. H. Thouless: I. P. R. p. 148. From a work of G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. we obtain a very different estimate: "Gustav Le Bon's psychological analysis of the crowd was and is a most valuable addition to science." p. 165
3. G. S. Brett: History of psychology, Encyc. Brit. - (14th. ed.) - Vol. 18 - p. 718.
4. loc. cit.
5. S. G. Dimond: P. M. R. p. 9. R. H. Thouless: op. cit. p. 143, refers to "the somewhat nebulous crowd psychology which has been made popular by Le Bon.
6. J. B. Pratt: R. C. p. 169
7. Cf. E. D. Martin: Some mechanisms which distinguish the crowd from other forms of social behavior, J. of Abnor. and Soc. Psych. - Vol. 18 - (1923-24) - p. 188-203.
8. J. B. Pratt: loc cit.
9. G. Wallas: The great society, p. 139
10. Charles H. Cooley: Human nature and the social order, p. 1. Quoted by K. Young: Source book for social psychology, p. 4. For a study which points out the absurdity of the older view of suggestion and consciousness, which made individual and social psychology antithetic see John Dewey: The need for social psychology, Psych. Rev. - Vol. 24 - (1917) - p. 266-277
11. K. Young: Social Psychology, p. 526.
12. For example: G. Le Bon: The Crowd, feels "the essential requisite apparently is the turning of the feeling and ideas of a number of people in an identical direction, and the consequent formation, according to him, of a kind of unitary collective mind;" Sir M. Conway: The crowd in peace and war, "uses the term crowd to cover any group of human beings that have a separate and conscious existence and to include such widely divergent collectives as mobs, public meetings, the race, the empire, the nation;" G. Tarde: The laws of imitation, "has drawn a useful distinction between the crowd and the public." Adapted from M. Ginsberg: The psychology of society, pp. 128-129.

13. F. H. Giddings: Elements of sociology, p. 137.
14. J. C. F. Hecker: Epidemics of the Middle Ages, p. 140. Quoted by G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 163
15. J. Baillie: The revival, or, what I saw in Ireland, pp. 6-7.
16. A. C. Underwood: C. C. N. C. p. 221.
17. F. H. Giddings: op. cit. p. 139. This law was first formulated by Boris Sidis in his The psychology of suggestion as follows: The masses increase in arithmetical progression, the energies of the increase in a geometrical progression." See also his article, The source and aim of human progress, J. of Abnor. Psych. - Vol. 14 - (1919-20) - pp. 91-143 (esp. p. 101)
18. F. M. Davenport: P. T. R. R. p. 5
19. Ibid: pp. 5-6.
20. Ibid: pp. 6-7.
21. W. M. Gewehr: G. A. V. p. 5.
22. J. Edwards: Thoughts on the revival of religion in New England, p. 14ff.
23. W. M. Gewehr: op. cit. pp. 5-6
24. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 107
25. F. H. Giddings: op. cit. p. 140
26. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. pp. 7-8
27. Chap. 1. p. 38 of the thesis.
28. F. M. Davenport: loc. cit. In this connection see H. Bois: Q. R. P. R. p. 97, note 2. He makes great use of this law contending that it works in the case of any revival. He says: "Le Reveil ne sera tenu en echec, arrete, que s'il y a un nombre considerable d'individus, repandus a travers la population, qui soient habitues a la reflexion, a l'inhibition, a la maitrise de soi-meme, et qui soient capables de subordonner le sentiment a des considerations rationnelles: ceux-la ferent fonction de barrieres contre le flot montant de l'emotion." p. 80
29. See Chap. 1 - p. 39 of this thesis. A study of the Revival of 1859 as it expressed itself in Ulster and in America illustrates the working of the same law. See F. M. Davenport: op. cit. Chap. 6, "The Scotch-Irish Revival in Ulster in 1859," pp. 87-93

30. In this connection see H. Clark: The crowd, Psych. Rev. (Monograph) - Vol. 21 - No. 4 - pp. 33-35. To my mind Miss Clark is definitely in error when she attempts to consider a class-room group as a mob. While the group might exhibit crowd behavior, it could never be mob behavior.

31. It seems well for the sake of clarity to think of a revival audience as a group. E. S. Waterhouse uses several classifying words which seem of value in keeping clear the distinction between various types of collective behavior. He illustrates their use as follows: "Let us call a number of children running and shouting aimlessly as they dash out of school, a concourse. Each is going his or her own way, and there is no common interest. Then perhaps a motor fire-engine dashes up and the firemen rush into a house opposite the school. At once the concourse becomes a crowd, because a common interest and emotions unite them. A crowd, then, is a temporary unorganized gathering, and we may use the word group to denote the more permanent organized associations." The A - B - C of Psychology, p. 28

32. K. Young: Social Psychology, p. 537. For the general form and treatment of this section on "The nature and psychological setting of the audience," I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Young, as I have drawn freely from his discussion of that subject. See esp. Chap. 22, "The Psychology of the Audience," pp. 537-550

33. E. S. Waterhouse: loc. cit.

34. Throughout the discussion wherever this sign (§) occurs it indicates that the section so designated will receive more detailed consideration later in the study.

35. As when people center their attention upon the antics of Billy Sunday, when the speaker tells a funny story, or when he makes the audience laugh at the expense of someone in the "out-group". (§)

36. As will be shown later, there is a very decided difference between the terms "revivalism" and "evangelism"; also between the terms "evangelist" and "revivalist." Some writers, however, are careless in their use of these terms. Throughout the remainder of this thesis, where the terms have been incorrectly applied by the author's quoted, the correct term will be inserted in parenthesis.

37. The meaning of this term as used throughout the thesis needs to be made clear. The meaning implied is the same as the meaning of the British term "Evangelical" - "the school which insists especially on the total depravity of unregenerate human nature, the

justification of the sinner by faith alone, the free offer of the gospel to all, and the plenary inspiration and exclusive authority of the Bible." Chambers's Dictionary.

38. Several brothers who established and developed America's greatest circus.
39. Oscar Smith: Darwin? Bryan? They don't irk monkey at tabernacle, The Akron (Ohio) Beacon Journal - Feb. 24, 1932.
40. This was especially true of the Kentucky revival "camp meetings." Although held in an outdoor setting every attempt was made to simulate the idea of an auditorium. F. M. Davenport's description of the Gasper River meeting is typical. In this case, "They cleared away the underbrush and felled the pine trees for pews. They improvised a platform for the speakers." op. cit. p. 72.
41. For an example of the use of a tent see John G. F. Knapp: The church in the circus.
42. For a most complete discussion of the influences here involved see C. H. Woolbert: The audience, Psych. Rev. (Monograph) - Vol. 21 - No. 4 - (1916) - pp. 37-54.
43. K. Young: op. cit. pp. 534-535
44. "Suggestibility is difficult to define. Nor is its status among the various human tendencies at all clear. Tentatively we may define it as the tendency to accept uncritically and act upon ideas, beliefs, and opinions, expressed in the words, attitudes, or acts of other people." J. Drever: The psychology of everyday life, p. 47
45. "Sympathy is the tendency to experience a feeling or emotion on perceiving the expressive signs of that feeling or emotion in another." Ibid: loc. cit.
46. "Imitation is the tendency to act as we see others acting." Ibid: loc. cit.
47. We shall seek to avoid the error of dealing with these factors as mere abstractions. As M. Bentley has pointed out: "Suggestion, etc., are - until they are empirically defined - sheer abstractions used as agents or forces. They are precisely analogous to the faculties of the eighteenth century." A preface to social psychology, Psych. Rev. (Monograph) - Vol. 21 - No. 4 - (1916) - p. 11
48. C. Baudouin: Suggestion and auto-suggestion, passim.

49. Ibid: pp. 66-67
50. Ibid: pp. 119-120
51. See especially F. M. Davenport: op. cit. pp. 18-24; also G. Galloway: The principles of religious development, pp. 90-91.
52. Is gregariousness an instinct? Sociological Rev. - Vol. 22 - (1930) - p. 232
53. G. Galloway: op. cit. p. 91. Also in this connection see J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 170, note 12.
54. G. Galloway: loc. cit.
55. The very existence of ideo-motor action has been denied by E. L. Thorndike. See his article, "Ideo-Motor Action", Psych. Rev. - Vol. 20 - (1913) - pp. 91-106. J. Drever, on the other hand, feels that such a position as Thorndike takes is untenable at our present state of knowledge. See his Psychology of everyday life, p. 56
56. The general scheme of this discussion I owe to G. A. Coe: Psychology of religion, pp. 120-121.
57. Although these are but two aspects of the same thing I follow J. B. Pratt: op. cit. pp. 171ff. in considering them separately.
58. The psychology of suggestion, p. 299
59. Ibid: loc. cit.
60. H. E. Lewis: With Christ among the miners, p. 89
61. H. S. Dyer: R. I. pp. 80-81. (The italics are mine)
62. op. cit. p. 152
63. E. S. Waterhouse: A - B - C of psychology, pp. 28-29. E. D. Martin refers to the crowd in this connection as the great face-saving agency. He says: "The crowd is a great face-saving device. It helps men preserve their self-appreciation. . . . Thus in a crowd men will perform acts of exhibition, as for instance, marching in a parade dressed in fancy regalia when they would be too modest to do such things alone." Some mechanisms which distinguish crowd from other forms of social behavior, J. of Abnor. and Soc. Psych. - Vol. 18 - (1923-24) - p. 196
64. W. T. Ellis: The Billy Sunday book, pp. 288-289 (The italics are mine)

65. Ibid: p. 289 (The italics are mine)
66. M. Ginsberg: The psychology of society, p. 135
67. op. cit. p. 170
68. "In primitive Christianity the glossolalia was the most frequent automatism. In the Edwardean Revival in New England in 1734 weeping, crying, wailing, shrieking and fainting were common. During the early part of Wesley's ministry "fallings" frequently occurred. . . . The Kentucky Revival was remarkable for the jerks. . . . In the Welsh Revival physical manifestations were few, the most noteworthy being the holy laugh." A. C. Underwood: op. cit. pp. 211-212
 These phenomena will be dealt with in greater detail in Chap. 3 of this thesis.
69. G. Le Bon: op. cit. p. 23. Compare with this the account of regiments of Prussian soldiers supposedly seen by the people of Paris in 1870, but which were wholly imaginary. J. Rogues de Fursac: M. M. C. pp. 147-148. See also the more recent examples given by S. H. Prince: Catastrophe and social change - based upon a sociological study of the Halifax disaster, Columbia Univ. Studies in Hist., Econ. and Public Law - Vol. 94 - No. 212 - (1920-21)
70. J. M. Fletcher: The miracle man of New Orleans, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 33 - (1922) - p. 118-119.
71. Ibid: p. 119 (The italics are mine)
72. Ibid: p. 116
73. On this point consider V. J. Morgan's statement: "Superstition and hero worship were the order of the day. It was declared that Evan Roberts had asked the Lord for 100,000 for Jesus Christ and that he had actually seen Jesus presenting a cheque to His Father and on it the figure 100,000. W. R. R. p. 204
74. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 204. J. Rogues de Fursac: op. cit. p. 149, bears witness that Evan Roberts was looked upon as omniscient.
75. op. cit. p. 172
76. Ibid: loc. cit.
77. op. cit. p. 29
78. loc. cit.

79. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 215
80. Ibid: loc. cit.
81. Ibid: loc. cit.
82. H. Bois: R. P. G. p. 429. Quoted by A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 210
83. J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 173
84. op. cit. Bassim.
85. Cf. E. S. Waterhouse: op. cit. pp. 27-29; D. M. Lorden: Mob behavior and social attitudes, Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 14 - (1929-30) - p. 330; A. T. Guttery: Christian conversion, p. 248; E. D. Martin: op. cit. p. 191
86. J. Webster: "Times of Blessing" in Manchuria, p. 48
87. H. Dyer: op. cit. p. 82 (The italics are mine)
88. op. cit. p. 93
89. op. cit. p. 39
90. K. Young: op. cit. p. 58
91. "Physiologically fear, anger, joy, surprise, and grief are almost indistinguishable. In their relation to organic efficiency, they are identical. They are variously named according to the circumstances that evoke them and give them meaning." W. Leys: The religious control of emotion, p. 6. For an excellent schematic representation of many divergent classifications see E. T. Kreuger and W. C. Reckless: Social Psychology, Chap. 4, "The Theory of Human Motivation", pp. 142-170
92. The author realizes that primary and derived emotions are blended with one another and modified in a hundred ways. The reader is referred to W. McDougall: Social psychology, esp. pp. 128 sq. for an indication of some of these modifications.
93. Some psychologists prefer the term "Sentiments." This method was first enunciated by T. Ribot: Psychologie des sentiments, and elaborated by A. Shand: Foundations of character, and Wm. McDougall: Social psychology.
94. This move seems to have been first inaugurated by the social psychologists at the University of Chicago, mainly through the teachings of Ellsworth Faris. For some lucid statements of this point of view see L. L. Bernard: The misuse of instinct in the

- social sciences, Psych. Rev. - Vol. 38 - (1921) - p. 96-119; Ellsworth Faris: Are instincts data or hypothesis, Amer. J. of Soc. - Vol. 27 - (1926-7) - pp. 184-196; Zing Yang Kuo: Giving up instincts in psychology, J. of Phil., Psych., and Scientific Method - Vol. 18 - (1921) - pp. 645-664
95. See W. McDougall: Can sociology and social psychology dispense with instincts, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 29 - (1927-28) - pp. 657-670; W. R. Wells: The anti-instinct fallacy, Psych. Rev. - Vol. 30 - (1923) - pp. 228-234; H. G. Wyatt: The recent anti-instinctive attitude in social psychology, Psych. Rev. - Vol. 34 - (1927) - pp. 126-132
 96. The identity of instinct and habit, J. of Phil. - Vol. 19 - (1922) - p. 85.
 97. Instinct and the unconscious, pp. 51-52
 98. For a consideration of the place of the instincts in religious behavior see R. H. Thouless: op. cit. pp. 120-126
 99. H. T. Hughes: The philosophical aspects of mysticism. Lectures delivered at the Scottish Congregational Theological Hall - 1930-31. In this connection see also J. E. Turner: Religion and animal instincts, Congregational Quar. - Vol. 4 - (1926) - pp. 82-87
 100. D. M. Lorden: op. cit. p. 330
 101. "Representatives of all the tribes of a large district of Sarawak had been brought together by the resident magistrate for the purpose of strengthening friendly relations and cementing peace between the various tribes. All went smoothly, and the chiefs surrounded by their followers were gathered together in a large hall, rudely constructed of timber, to make public protestations of friendship. An air of peace and goodwill pervaded the assembly, until a small piece of wood fell from the roof and upon the head of one of the leading chiefs, making a slight wound from which blood trickled. Only the immediate neighbors of this chief observed the accident or could perceive its effect; nevertheless in the space of a few seconds a wave of angry emotion swept over the whole assembly, and a general and bloody fight would at once have commenced, but that the Resident had insisted upon all weapons being left in the boats on the shore 200 yards away. The great majority of the crowd rushed headlong to fetch their weapons from their boats, while the few who remained on the ground danced in fury and rushed to and fro gesticulating wildly." The group mind, p. 26 Note 1.
 102. For the relation of facial expression to emotions see Charles Darwin: The expression of emotions in man and animals, passim.

Also in the same connection the following is worthy of study,
C. Nony: The biological and social significance of the expression of emotions, Brit. J. of Psych. - Vol. 13 - (1922) - pp. 76-91

103. J. Collins: Revivals past and present, Harpers - Vol. 135 - (1917) - p. 864. Although Dr. Collins chooses to use the popular term "like-mindedness" his description bears out the point mentioned above in regard to the "emotional homogeneity" of a revival audience.
104. Petronius Arbiter: Saturae. Quoted by J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 71
105. The psychology of the emotions, Part 2 - esp. Chap. 9.
106. Fear, awe, and the sublime in religion, Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. - Vol. 2 - (1906-07) - pp. 1-13
107. Social psychology, Chap. 13
108. A. Shand: Foundations of character, pp. 199-210, distinguishes eleven types of fear.
109. In the Methodist revival, S. G. Dimond found all of these types of fear included in the phenomena which he classified. See his book: op. cit. pp. 140-157
110. J. Edwards: Thoughts on the Revival of religion in New England, p. 203. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: op. cit. pp. 135-136
111. J. Edwards: Works, Vol. 6 - p. 103
112. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 119
113. J. Wesley: Journal, Vol. 2. Quoted by A. T. Guttery: Christian Conversion, pp. 280-281
114. Quoted by J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 178 note.
115. W. A. Tyson: The revival, pp. 98-99. It is only fair to admit that on the whole this book is written from a very sane and sensible point of view.
116. op. cit. p. 180
117. op. cit. p. 85
118. Ibid: p. 137

119. W. Gladden: Samples of modern evangelism, Independent - Vol. 72 - (1912) - p. 1103 (The italics are mine)
120. The classic example of the completely emancipated individual is Samuel Pepys. For extracts from his diary which show this very clearly see E. T. Kreuger and W. C. Reckless: Social Psychology, p. 413
121. There is little doubt but that the fear of censure by the people had much to do with the conversion of the girl in the meeting at Aberdare during the Welsh revival recorded on page 89 of this thesis.
122. An animal of the weasel family, native to North America, which defends itself by emitting a fluid with an extremely offensive odor.
123. W. Gladden: op. cit. p. 1102
124. In this connection see G. M. Stratton: Anger: its religious and moral significance, passim.
125. op. cit. Book 2 - Chap. 5 - p. 261
126. op. cit. p. 151
127. Cf. Vol. 2 - p. 300; Vol. 3 - pp. 155, 483
128. Merionethshire mysteries, Occult Review - Vol. 1 - (1905) - p. 117. For another well authenticated case see that of John Haydon, during the Wesleyan revival, reported by S. G. Dimond: op. cit. pp. 153-154. Although the actual incident, as recorded by Dimond took place when the man was in his own home and not at a time when he was actually a member of a revival audience, I would differ with Dimond when he says that this was "an example of extraordinary physical phenomena induced without any possibility of crowd contagion or loss of inhibition through social sympathy and suggestion."
129. W. Gladden: op. cit. p. 1101
130. Ibid: pp. 1101-1102
131. It would seem well to place a question mark (?) after the word "prayer".
132. Here we find "anger against the devil" as referred to earlier in this thesis. One sympathetic observer says: "The Prince of Darkness was no more real to Martin Luther, when he flung his inkwell at the devil than he is to Billy Sunday. He seems never long out of the evangelist's (revivalist's) thought. Sunday re-

gards him as his most personal and individual foe. Scarcely a day passes that he does not direct his attention publicly to the devil. He addresses him and defies him, and he cites Satan as sufficient explanation for most of the world's afflictions." W. T. Ellis: The Billy Sunday book, p. 182

133. A piece of thin black gauze hung, in America, on the door of a home where death has been a recent visitor.
134. W. Gladden: op. cit. pp. 1102-1103
135. G. W. Johnson: Saving souls, American Mercury - Vol. 2 - (1924) - p. 366
136. In this connection G. A. Coe says: "When a crowd of Christians applauds a revivalist for picturesquely assigning to a savage hell persons who disagree with his theology, what happens is a flaring up of instinctive pugnacity - the same thing that makes men enjoy a dog fight." Psychology of religion, p. 124 note
137. Here again, a question mark (?) would seem to be in place.
138. Rev. Isaac Nelson: The year of delusion, p. 171. Quoted by J. Howley: Psychology and mystical experience, pp. 133-134
139. Ibid
140. This statement must be construed as applying to the more recent Christian revivals, for A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 208, tells us that the appeal of the Chaitanyite revival, discussed in Chap. 1 of this thesis, was almost entirely to the tender emotions.
141. The evangelistic work of the church, Report of the Archbishops' Third Committee of Inquiry - Part 3 - p. 52
142. R. Harkness: With the Torrey-Alexander mission round the world, p. 13
143. The type of hymns used to appeal to the tender emotions will be dealt with more fully in Chap. 5 of this thesis.
144. Gypsy Smith for example sings his own solos.
145. From a London daily. Quoted by G. T. B. Davis: Torrey and Alexander; the story of a world-wide revival, p. 175
146. G. T. B. Davis: op. cit. pp. 195-196 (The italics are mine)
147. op. cit. p. 178
148. An introduction to social psychology, p. 263

149. Cf. J. Leuba: op. cit. pp. 1-23
150. op. cit. pp. 194-201
151. op. cit. pp. 203-204
152. op. cit. p. 75
153. J. Hall and G. H. Stuart: The American evangelists, D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey, in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 340 (The italics are mine)
154. In private conversation with the writer.
- 154-a. On this point see H. C. Warren and L. Carmichael: Elements of human psychology, pp. 235ff.
155. See the demonstration of this in the table of "Human Emotions" in the book by H. C. Warren and L. Carmichael, quoted above. Appendix 4 - p. 394
156. Described by Wm. MacDougall: op. cit. p. 57, as "The impulse to approach and examine more closely the object that excites it."
157. As S. G. Dimond, points out, op. cit. p. 116, "Either unintentionally or deliberately, Wesley evoked the mental conditions which are necessary for a successful revival."
158. Journal, Vol. 3 - p. 14
159. op. cit. p. 175
160. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 203, refers to it as "financial fear."
161. op. cit. p. 202
162. Ibid.
163. Cf. the incident concerning C. G. Finney recorded, in this connection, by A. C. Underwood: op. cit. pp. 202-203
164. K. Young: op. cit. p. 162
165. Referred to by K. Young: op. cit. p. 160. For a most complete and scholarly study of laughter see J. C. Gregory: The nature of laughter.
166. K. Young: op. cit. p. 528. The truth of the last statement is borne out by an incident recorded by Young. During the World War

a speaker told how he had seen German soldiers cut off the hands of Belgian children and that he had the next day seen the children running about with exposed stubs. A doctor in the audience ridiculed the idea that anyone would believe such a story so contrary to medical facts, for, as he pointed out, the children without medical aid would have bled to death before the second day. The lecturer lost his temper and tacitly accused the doctor of unpatriotic sympathies. The applause of the audience showed the futility of ridiculing a crowd. Adapted from p. 440

167. J. Collins: op. cit. p. 862
168. The hymns used in revivals will be studied comprehensively in Chap. 5 of this thesis.
169. Mr. Rodaheaver, the director of music for Mr. Sunday.
170. Mrs. Sunday
171. Mr. Sunday's young son.
172. An American slang phrase meaning to "make a hasty departure".
173. Dr. J. K. Wilson in the Watchman-Examiner (Boston), quoted in Billy Sunday in Boston, Literary Digest - Vol. 54 - (1917) - p. 342
174. This phase of these movements will be dealt with more in detail in Chap. 9, of this study, "The Genesis of Revivals"
175. p. 76 of this thesis.
176. Oscar Smith: loc. cit.
177. Reported by M. C. Otto: Changes in the theory of religion, Mental Hygiene - Vol. 14 - (1930) - p. 263
178. op. cit. Chap. 7 - "The Primary Instincts" - pp. 140-157
179. See p. 94 of this thesis.
180. op. cit. pp. 120-121
181. I do not hold to the feeling that there is something inherently disgusting about the sex instinct which makes the mere suggestion of a connection between religion and sex revolting. Indeed, I realize that the sex instinct is at the root of all the highest expressions of human character which can be called out by love at its best. However, it seems best to deal with this connection under the appeal to the tender emotions, reserving this section for those manifestations which are commonly classed under the

term sexuality.

182. I cannot accept Mr. Schroeder's theory which can be summed up as follows: (1) That all religion is a misinterpretation of sex feeling; and (2) that religion is therefore discredited. See his article, Religion and sensualism as connected by clergymen, Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. and Educ. - Vol. 3 - (1908) - pp. 16-28. Further, although I cannot accept his conclusions, I feel justified in accepting some of his observations as scholarly.
183. Chap. 9
184. For a literary work describing the "horrors" of the Kentucky revival see John Fort: God in the straw pen.
185. Quoted by T. Schroeder: op. cit. p. 26
186. Freaks of fanaticism. Quoted by T. Schroeder: op. cit. pp. 26-27
187. To be considered more in detail in Chap. 8 of this study - "Re-vivals Evaluated."
188. T. Schroeder: op. cit. p. 27. For a book which is little more than an enumeration of all the connections which the author could find between religion and sex see C. Cohen: Religion and sex, passim.
189. For such studies see W. Trotter: Instincts of the herd in peace and war; C. C. J. Webb: Group theories of religion and the individual; J. Drever: Instinct in man.
190. Source book for social psychology, p. 65
191. Chap. 9
192. For an excellent study of this organization see L. Percy: The modern Ku Klux Klan, Atlantic - Vol. 130 - (1922) - pp. 122-128
193. G. W. Johnson: op. cit. p. 367
194. The group mind, p. 69
195. W. D. Scott: The psychology of public speaking, pp. 161-169
196. In the case of most recent revivalists there is no pretense in this connection. Few of them have had much formal training.
197. G. W. Johnson: op. cit. p. 366

198. J. H. Odell: Revivalist judged by results, Outlook - Vol. 106 - (1914) - p. 804
199. W. D. Scott: op. cit. p. 162
200. A. Christensen: Politics and crowd morality, p. 17
201. In this connection see L. Stein: The sociology of authority, Publications of the Amer. Sociological Soc. - Vol. 18 - (1923) - pp. 117-119
202. The crowd, pp. 126-127
203. This matter will be studied more in detail in Chap. 4 of this thesis - "Revival Theology and Preaching"

"One of the most pernicious superstitions that has hindered the progress of true religion is the notion that the operation of the Divine Spirit is especially manifest in an over-wrought emotional state in which the intelligence is swamped. Can any valid reason be given why we should expect the Divine Spirit to be present in human emotion more than in the operation of the reason and the conscience?" - Charles S. Gardner

CHAPTER III.

REVIVALS AND PHYSICAL MANIFESTATIONS

A. The strange phenomena of revivals.

Again and again throughout the ages there have appeared in religious revivals certain bodily exercises or abnormal physical effects. The intensity and variety of these phenomena, and the ease and rapidity with which they are communicated, mark them off as worthy of serious study. Several authors have studied those which appeared in specific revivals.¹ F. M. Davenport² and A. C. Underwood³ deal with their diverse modes of appearance in various revivals. It is my purpose also to consider all types, for only a detailed study of these strange accompaniments and of the conditions which brought them into being can render revivals intelligible.

(1) Types of phenomena.

In general these abnormal phenomena may be grouped, for the purpose of classification, into two main groups. First, there are those affecting the senses or vocal organs, and, secondly, those affecting other bodily action. Of the first group may be mentioned speaking with tongues, visions, blindness, weeping, laughing⁴, shouting, singing⁵, barking, and dumbness.⁶ In the second group may be placed "feelings like electric shocks", and actions such as jerking, dancing, "falling", leaping, rolling, sweating, horripilation, and fainting.

(2) Fashions in phenomena.

Not all of these phenomena have appeared in any one revival;

but as a general thing each revival has been marked by the persistent appearance of some such manifestations. As Frank Granger expounded⁷, there have been "fashions in these things". A study of various revivals shows the truth of this statement. Although a number of abnormal phenomena may appear in a specific revival, some one, or some few manifestations, predominate. Considering only the more recent Protestant revivals (i.e. The Great Awakening to the present) this fact is self-evident. The Great Awakening was characterized by the appearance of many cases of "fainting". During the early part of Wesley's ministry many "fallings" are recorded. The characteristic mode of expression during the Kentucky revival was the "jerks", followed as a general rule by "swooning". In the early part of the revival under C. G. Finney "being struck" was a much sought condition. While the Lay Revival of 1857 was noted for the absence of any abnormal manifestations, when the work was transplanted to Ireland "prostrations" and "sleeping cases" were the order of the day. The work of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey was noted for its absence of abnormal phenomena. The Welsh revival, as well was known for its absence of manifestations, the most noteworthy exceptions being the "holy laugh" and the appearance of "hywl". Again, however, when this revival was transplanted to India we find "fallings" and "visions" the fashion of the time.

(3) Explanations offered by the revivalists, and others.

Later in the chapter there will be a consideration of the light which psychological and medical science have been able to cast

upon these phenomena in an attempt to provide an explanation. At this point, however, it is of interest to see how the revivalists themselves have explained their appearance.

By most revivalists these phenomena have been explained supernaturally, either as the work of God or the work of the devil. In the early days of revivals they were looked upon as semi-miraculous proofs of 'power' on the part of the Holy Spirit; but great divergence of opinion quickly arose concerning them.⁸

(a) These phenomena the work of God.

One can very definitely see from the writings of Jonathan Edwards that he looked upon these phenomena as manifestations of the presence and power of God. Although he was led to qualify his views as to their real worth, he nevertheless continued to feel confident of their divine origin. In one place he contends that "the unavoidable manifestations of strong religious affections tend to a happy influence on the minds of the bystanders, and are found by experience to have an excellent and endurable effect."⁹

We find that in his later writings he looked upon such phenomena as childish things which would cease when Christianity attained its majority. Nevertheless, he still inconsistently attributed these "bodily effects" to the actual presence and power of God.¹⁰

A great many contemporaries of Jonathan Edwards held similar views. The follow excerpt from a letter of one of the clergymen of the time could be duplicated in spirit many times over from the works of Thomas Prince¹¹, Bennett Tyler¹², and Joseph Tracy.¹³

"I see not how a Jannes and Jambres can doubt of its being the finger of God; (14) especially upon their children; some not above six or seven years old. One last night at the meeting-house door I believe would have fallen down in a swoon, if I had not caught it in my arms." (15)

In the early part of his ministry John Wesley felt very definitely that these manifestations were the work of God. S. G. Dimond shows ¹⁶ that Wesley was early brought to this view through reading Jonathan Edwards's account of the great revival in New England. Wesley's belief in these phenomena as God-inspired can be seen from the following entry in his Journal.

"I had an opportunity to talk with Mr. Whitefield of those outward signs, which had so often accompanied the inward work of God. I found his objections were chiefly grounded on gross misrepresentations of matter of fact. But the next day he had an opportunity of informing himself better. For no sooner had he begun (in the application of his sermon) to invite all sinners to believe in Christ, than four persons sunk down close to him, almost in the same moment. One of them lay without either sense or motion. A second trembled exceedingly. The third had strong convulsions all over his body, but made no noise, unless by groans. The fourth, equally convulsed, called upon God, with strong cries and tears. From this time, I trust, we shall all suffer God to carry on his own work in the way that pleaseth him." (17)

Again it is only fair to point out that in his later ministry Wesley seems to have done what he could to discourage these manifestations.

This tendency to attribute bodily effects to God also finds expression in the works of those who have written concerning revivals.¹⁸ These people sometimes give credit indirectly, by showing that similar happenings have been recorded in the Bible and must

therefore have divine sanction. Two examples will suffice, the first taken from a work dealing with the '59 revival in Ireland, and the second from a work dealing with the recent revival in India. The first writer declares that:

" . . . these bodily affections do not prove that the revivals in which they have appeared are not the genuine work of the Spirit of God. We have examples in the Word of God of the great bodily effects produced by deep impressions of spiritual things (Ezek. 1:28; 3:23; Daniel 10:8; Rev. 1:17). Such physical manifestations are not a new thing. They have occurred in many previous religious movements of a deep and extensive character." (19)

The second writer attempts to point out similar biblical sanction.

"It may be worth our while briefly to consider these phenomena. (20) They may be briefly classified as follows:

Dreams and visions when asleep	(see Acts 2:17)
Emotional cries)	
Emotional actions)	----(see passages in the Gospels)
Emotional feelings)	
Possession of demons	(see Mark 16:17, etc.)
Healing of diseases	(see Mark 16:18, etc.)
Ocular phenomena	(see Acts 2:3)
Auditory phenomena	(see Acts 2:2)

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(b) These phenomena the work of the devil.

On the other hand there have been many students of revivals who have felt that these phenomena instead of being manifestations of the presence of God were in reality proof of the work of the evil one. Charles Chauncey argued²² that the Great Awakening in New England was of the devil because it worked out into so many extravagances and excesses. He clearly attributed these phenomena to the machina-

tions of the evil one.

As has previously been stated²³ John Wesley in his later ministry came to feel that the devil was responsible at least in part for such excesses. This seems also to have been the position of Evan Roberts, the Welsh revivalist.²⁴ Many writers on the Ulster revival held a similar opinion.

F. M. Davenport shows very clearly how such a view of these phenomena came to be propounded. He says:

"When the manifestations have been too dreadful for belief that they were directly caused by a benevolent and intelligent divinity, they have been ascribed to demon possession or to some malign supernatural influence. This form of the theological explanation, practically universal among primitive people and frequently employed in the religious literature of all races, reached its highest logical development in the Miltonic conception of a personal devil who has seemed at times to share with Almighty God the rulership of men. It was of course this theory which was at the basis of the witchcraft delusion, and it has been employed times without number to explain some of the evils of uncontrolled revivalism." (25)

By the more recent revivalists both forms of the supernatural theory have been fairly well rejected, although not entirely. Even as late as 1907 a man who had the "jerks" proudly proclaimed them to be a mark of divine favor.²⁶ Again, Pratt recalls that in Kassel and other parts of Germany in the 1907 revival which produced many of the common bodily effects, some attributed them to God while others attributed them to evil spirits.²⁷ One man argued quite learnedly that they were the work of The Evil One because Daniel, Paul, and John fell on their faces, while those who spoke with tongues in Kassel fell on their backs.²⁸ However, with the spread of psycholog-

ical knowledge, many people are coming to see that these phenomena can be explained without recourse to a divine or demoniacal cause.

(4) Attitude of revivalists toward these phenomena.

It may be said that in general revivalists who felt that these phenomena were God-inspired have tended to encourage them, while those who felt them to be caused by evil forces have tended to suppress them. Jonathan Edwards in his later years seemed to regret that in the earlier stages of his revival experience he had not stood out more firmly against such manifestations.²⁹ It was no doubt in an attempt to undo some of the harm of his earlier meetings when he encouraged these manifestations as the work of God that he wrote his classic treatise on revival phenomena.³⁰

Wesley may be said to have been favorable to them in his early ministry. In his later ministry, however, having "revised his opinion as to the significance and as to the cause of these disturbances"³¹ he refrained from evoking them. This discouraging attitude had much to do with their diminishing quantity, as they rarely appear under his preaching after 1743. It is also to be noted that similar phenomena characterized the early preaching of Whitefield.

In the Kentucky revivals such leaders as James McGready, Lorenzo Dow, and Peter Cartwright encouraged them by their preaching. Under their pictorial descriptions of wrath to come so many fell at times as to make the place of meeting resemble a battlefield covered with slain.³²

It may also be said of C. G. Finney as of some of the min-

isters in the Ulster revival that he encouraged manifestations indirectly, if not directly, by his method of preaching and his hypnotic personality.

In the work of A. Nettleton, D. L. Moody, and Evan Roberts it must be admitted that they tried very definitely to discourage these outbursts. It is recorded of all of them that if any phenomena asserted themselves these men took means to prevent their continuance.

B. Examples and detailed consideration of these phenomena.

Although practically all books dealing with revivals have some mention of the remarkable bodily exercises which were a common accompaniment, no writer seems to have sought to make a complete catalog and thorough study of the many types of phenomena manifested in various revivals.³³ It is my purpose to list all types of these phenomena, giving examples drawn from actual records of revivals, and then to attempt an explanation in the light of modern psychological and medical knowledge

T. Oesterreich has classified these phenomena³⁴ into two groups, namely, (1) Modes of manifestation, which deal with presentations to the senses, visions to the eye, and auditions or voices to the ear, and (2) Modes of control, of the organs of speech, and of the hand, etc.³⁵

(1) Modes of manifestation.

(a) Visions to the eye.

Traditionally visions to the eye have been divided into two classes: those which may be discerned by the outward eye (objective visions), and those which may be discerned by the inward eye (imaginative visions).³⁶ As W. P. Paterson states:

"Sometimes they have been seen and heard in precisely the same way as the sights and sounds which announce the existence of the objects and events of the external world. At other times they have been said to be seen by the inward eye . . . , while yet a kind of reality was ascribed to them other than that which we ascribe to a stream of memory-images or the contents of a reverie." (37)

We find instances of both kinds referred to as having taken place in the experience of individuals in a revival milieu. Two illustrations of objective visions will suffice. The first is taken from a report of the Welsh revival, and is said to have occurred on December 27, 1904.

"As on other days that week, there were long services held at a Church three times each day for the sake of the persons who had been won in the Revival. The wife of a layman who had charge of some of the services objected to her husband's prolonged absence from home, and told him that if he had pleasure in the Church he should have none at home, so she started the weekly wash. On going to the wash-tub, she says, 'There before me appeared the four children, and one of them spoke to me in English (38) saying ---- 'Mam, come,' and then they disappeared. . . . The four children had died in infancy." (39)

The report further adds that the woman was soon after converted, being definitely impressed with the objectivity of her vision and its import.

We have also a report of an objective vision seen during one of the meetings of the revival in India. What took place in this

instance was in reality a collective objective vision. The writer reports that:

"At one service the people heard a great noise; they thought it was a hailstorm on the corrugated roof. Then the building began to shake, and they thought another earthquake had come. . . . Immediately some of the people beheld two shining persons standing near the pulpit. . . . The people of the place have no doubt that God gave them this vision! Some of them think there was such joy in the service that the angels came down to witness it. (40)

In addition to examples of objective visions, revivals furnish us with many examples of imaginal visions. In these the percipient has a clear image of what he sees, but does not suppose it to belong to the outside world.⁴¹ Two examples taken from the reports of the Welsh revival are of interest. The first is recorded by A. T. Fryer as having been reported by a convert.

"I can give one good instance of a vision, as I suppose it would be termed. Some weeks after my first experience (of conversion) I felt impelled to do a certain difficult thing. What that is, I think, is immaterial. However, I did not do it, and whenever I wished to pray, the thought of not having done this one thing came to my mind; and on one occasion I saw in my mind's eye a large white throne, with no one sitting there, as far as I could see. Across the front of this throne was the word "Disobedience", in large black letters. I saw this every time I attempted to pray, until I had done what I felt I must do." (42)

A somewhat similar vision is reported by W. T. Stead as having been seen by Evan Roberts, the leader of the revival.

"He (Evan Roberts) said that when he was before the throne of grace (43) he saw appearing before him a key. He did

not understand the meaning of this sign. Just then, however, three members of the congregation rose to their feet and said that they had been converted. 'My vision is explained', said Mr. Roberts, ecstatically; 'it was the key by which God opened your hearts'." (44)

In studying visions a difficulty arises in determining whether a vision described by an individual is an objective or an imaginal one. In fact in many cases the difference between them is not clear even to the percipient himself, and rarely is he interested in drawing the distinction in his narration. Especially is this true in regard to those cases where a great blazing light, or photism, is reported. These have occurred in numerous cases of conversion. Wm. James describes⁴⁵ Saint Paul's blinding heavenly vision as a phenomenon of this sort; also Constantine's cross in the sky. He mentions a similar experience on the part of Henry Alline, Colonel Gardiner, and President C. G. Finney.⁴⁶ A. C. Underwood⁴⁷ also gives an example from the conversion experience of an Oriental, Nichiren, the Japanese prophet. Elmer T. Clark records a case of photism on the part of a college student.⁴⁸ A number of cases of photism were recorded during the Ulster revival, the recent Welsh, and the revivals in India and Manchuria.

First, let us consider an example from the Ulster revival. A certain young man in Belfast who had lived a very ungodly life was observed after a revival meeting to be very solemn and unusually grave. Some time later when on his way to work he was "struck down" and for hours he lay still, giving hardly a sign of life. Finally when he opened his eyes, he looked round in evident terror, and then

with extreme joy, he exclaimed, "Oh, that ball! that ball of fire! it was all rolled out of my heart! He then went on to expound a further vision which he had seen."⁴⁹

In the recent Welsh revival these photisms became almost epidemic. Many were studied by A. T. Fryer. The following were reported to him by some of the parishioners of certain parishes in Montgomeryshire.

"W----- H----- saw a flash of light lighting the road before him when he and another friend were coming home from a farmhouse on Saturday, 18th., February 1905, about 10 p. m. He saw a similar light on Saturday evening, the 4th., February, but not in the same place. The light only lasted a second or two.

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Mrs. R-----, on Saturday evening, the 14th., January, saw a ball of fire descending on the hill in front of her house and, after rolling some distance, disappeared." (50)

Another report of a convert as to his experience gives an excellent example of the appearance of a photism.

"I had a vision, it was a beautiful light, pure, and brighter than any light I have ever seen, and clusters of something very soft and white falling upon me gently and covering me all over." (51)

The records of the revivals in India and Manchuria are replete with cases of photism. H. S. Dyer reports:

"In more than one meeting the Spirit came as a bright light seen by several. At one service the people heard a great noise; . . . looking towards the ceiling, (they) saw a brilliant light." (52)

J. Webster witnessed a distinct case of photism which took

place during the Manchurian revival.

"One man suddenly stricken to the ground, when at last he could speak, said that he had seen a ball of fire bursting in the middle of the room." (53)

(1) Dreams.

Closely akin to visions are the dreams which have been reported by those under conviction at a time of revival. Many examples have been listed in various books on revivals, so that it is now necessary to record only one or two to show the type of dream experienced.

The first, recorded by H. S. Dyer, concerns the experience of a young man who having led a very evil life suddenly found himself under conviction of sin. He dreamed that:

"He was taken to the gates of hell and shown the wicked in agony. He screamed in terror. The angel told him that unless he repented and obeyed Jesus Christ, he would suffer like these. He was then led to the walls of the New Jerusalem, which was beautiful beyond description, and the music and singing so captivated him that he begged of his guide to allow him to stay there forever. His guide told him that if he were obedient to the will of Jesus Christ he would some day be allowed to enter, but not now." (54)

Alexander Edwards who was the leader of the revival among the negroes of the West Indies⁵⁵ felt that God continually sought to instruct him through the medium of dreams. It was through dreams that God taught him new songs and provided spiritual nourishment for his followers. Edwards's testimony was to this effect:

"The leader of the meeting has the dream and he gives it to all the others. My dream was this. I saw angels with

rods in their hands, and they gave one to me. I was lying down in bed sleeping. Often the angel appeared to me. I found myself singing. I waked up and I was fervent in prayer. The song was Sankey, 338 - (56)

What can wash away my stain?
Nothing but the blood of Jesus.
What can make me whole again?
Nothing but the blood of Jesus.

(2) Blindness

Another phenomenon although not so common as others which is often met with in revivals is psychogenic blindness. According to S. G. Dimond⁵⁷ "two cases of persons struck blind (psychogenic blindness) are reported from Newcastle" during the visit of the Wesleyan revivalists there. Similar experiences were recorded in the Ulster revival and the revival in India.

It is, of course, a phenomenon which is not limited to revivals. The classic case of this kind is that of St. Paul. We have also a similar case of "blindness" due to psychological causes recorded in the Journal of George Fox.⁵⁸ Practically all of the revival cases exhibit similar characteristics to that of Paul. The story of the event on the Damascus road reads much like some occurring in Ireland or India.

"Saul got up from the ground, but though his eyes were open he could see nothing; so they took his hand and led him to Damascus. For three days he remained sightless, he neither ate nor drank." (59)

(b) Auditions or voices to the ear.

As in the case of visions we have both objective and imaginal, so, too, in the cases of auditions we may have them addressed

to the outward or to the inner ear. And as with visions, it is difficult to determine which of the two kinds is being described unless the percipient is quite certain and makes the distinction plain. In this connection it should be emphasized that the percipient cannot always be sure in his own mind as to the exact character of his experience.

There are numerous cases on record of people who in time of crisis have heard voices speaking to them. We have the biblical records of Isaiah⁶⁰, Christ⁶¹, and Paul.⁶² W. P. Paterson quotes⁶³ from the Koran a similar instance concerning Mohammed. Many modern instances can be found in the study which G. A. Coe made of the spiritual life.⁶⁴

One phenomenon of this kind that has been evident in many revivals has been "the sound of a mighty rushing wind." H. S. Dyer cites instances of this in the revival in India⁶⁵, while F. G. Henke enumerates⁶⁶ similar instances in a more recent revival. Certain other types of auditions are reported by A. T. Fryer as having occurred during the Welsh revival of 1904-05. I quote from the letter previously mentioned.⁶⁷

"D----- D-----, J----- J-----, and R----- J-----, during the service at the Parish Church, heard bells chiming on the 29th., of January. The sound was over their heads. There were many by them, but they were the only ones that heard it.

E----- B-----, on Wednesday previous, heard about four o'clock what appeared to him to be a thunder clap, followed by lovely singing in the air.

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E----- E-----, on Saturday evening between seven and eight, while returning home from his work, heard

some strange music, similar to the vibration caused by telegraph wires only much louder, on an eminence, the hill being far from any trees and wires of any kind, and it was more or less a still evening.

J----- P----- heard some lovely singing on the road about half a mile from his home, on Saturday evening, three weeks ago, which frightened him very much." (68)

However, more valuable than any of the above is a most complete account which is given of the experience of a Welsh clergyman who had been much interested in the revival and had spent much time in the revival meetings. His experience was as follows:

"A few days before Xmas, 1904, I was riding to see some parishioners in ----- parish. They lived about three miles up the hillside. As I was gradually ascending I fancied I heard voices singing. I took little notice for the moment, believing it was pure fancy. Gradually, the voices seemed to increase in volume, until at last they became quite overpowering. I was trying to imagine it could be nothing outside myself, as it were, but the wonderful harmony seemed to be borne on me entirely from the outside, and was as real to my senses as anything I have ever heard.

I could distinguish the words distinctly. They were:

'Pwy all beidio cofio am dano,
Pwy all beidio canu ei glod,
Dyma gariad na'd a'n angho,
Tra bydd nefoedd wen yn bod.' (69)

The moment the refrain would come to an end it would be restarted, the volume becoming greater and greater. To me it was an exquisite sensation. When about arriving at my destination the voices suddenly ceased." (70)

(2) Modes of control.

(a) Of the organs of speech.

(1) Speaking with tongues.

Of all the abnormal phenomena which have characterized revivals the one which has received the greatest attention and been the

focal point of most discussion is the phenomenon known as glossalalia, or "speaking with tongues".⁷² R. H. Thouless⁷³ describes it as "a stream of meaningless syllables, sometimes mixed with a few real words, poured out under the influence of intense emotion. The interpretation by bystanders is due to the gestures and emotional expression by which the sounds are accompanied."

Nearly all writers on the subject use as the basis of their discussion the appearance of this phenomenon at Pentecost.⁷⁴ However, it is a mistake to think of the gift of tongues as first appearing on the Day of Pentecost. As G. B. Cutten has shown it was well known among the ancient Hebrews.⁷⁵ T. M. Linday also declares⁷⁶ that the phenomenon has appeared in a number of revivals. It was prevalent among the Calvinistic 'prophets' of the Cevennes, France, in the latter decades of the seventeenth century; among the 'estatic virgins' who were the centers of a religious awakening in Roman Catholic Tyrol in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century; and in the fairly recent Irvingite movement in the West of Scotland.⁷⁷ F. M. Davenport records the appearance of this abnormality among the Mormons.⁷⁸

That the phenomenon still continues to appear from time to time is attested by J. B. Pratt. He says:

"Mr. W. T. Ellis, who was sent around the world in 1907 to investigate Christian missions, came upon the phenomenon in India among Hindu Christians. . . . In the same year the phenomenon appeared in South America, Colorado, California, Maine, and several other states, and at about the same time in Norway, Germany, England, and Switzerland. As late as 1910 there was to my knowledge a considerable epidemic of

it in Chicago and Zion City. (Illinois) And in fact some part of the United States nearly all the time. (79)

The writer can bear witness that the phenomenon still exists, he having been present at meetings of a sect known as the Pentecostal Mission where he witnessed what was alleged to be the speaking in unknown tongues.

The actual procedure of the phenomenon is somewhat as follows. Some member of the group begins to speak quite fluently in highly figurative language. As the excitement becomes greater, the utterances become less and less coherent until they dissolve into meaningless symbols. G. B. Cutten records an example from a Mormon revival meeting:

"Some person in the meeting has told an interesting story about Zion, then an excitable brother gets up to bear his 'testimony', the speed of speech increasing with the interest of the subject: 'Beloved brethren and sisters, I rejoice, and my heart is glad to overflowing - I hope to go to Zion, and to see you all there, and to - to - O, me son-tro von te, sontro von terre, sontro von te. O, me palassate te, etc." (80)

In addition to the speaking in tongues, there are also instances on record of revivals in which participants sang in the same incoherent fashion. G. B. Pratt tells of the case of Pastor Paul, editor of a German religious paper, Paul after visiting Norway to study the occurrence of the phenomenon there, read First Corinthians with great care, and suddenly found himself possessed of the power of speaking in tongues, and later of "singing in tongues". J. B. Pratt says:

"Singing 'in tongues' has become one of his accomplishments, the tune of some familiar hymn getting itself filled out with new syllables in meter and rhyme. Here is an example:

"Schua ea, schua ea
o tschi biro ti ra pea
akki lungo ta ri fungo
u li hara to ra tungo
latschi bungo ti tu ta."

By a comparison of these hymns 'in tongues' ('in Zungen') with the German of the hymn usually sung to the given tune, Pastor Paul has been enabled to discover the meaning of some of the new words, and now rejoices that he has learned some of the language of Heaven ('ich habe etwas von der himmlischen Sprache gelernt'). " (81)

(2) Other vocal expressions.

In addition to "speaking with tongues", revivals have exhibited other phenomena having to do with abnormal vocal expressions. Among these may be mentioned the "barking exercise", shouting, inspired speaking, and singing. A detailed consideration of these is in order.

(a) Barking exercise.

It is reported by several eye-witnesses⁸² at the Kentucky revival that this phenomenon was common during that revival. James Mooney also reports its occurrence⁸³ during the revivals among the North American Indians.

According to R. M'Nemar, when people were affected they got down on all-fours and barked and growled like dogs. A minister in lower Kentucky thus describes it:

"It was common to hear people barking like a flock of spaniels on their way to meeting. . . . There they would

start up suddenly in a fit of barking, rush out, roam around, and in a short time come barking and foaming back. Down on all fours they sometimes went, growling, snapping their teeth, and barking just like dogs." (84)

F. M. Davenport records a variation known as "treeing the devil".⁸⁵ This found expression in the votaries gathering in groups at the foot of a tree, on all fours, like dogs, growling and snapping the teeth as the minister preached.

(b) Shouting.

Closely akin to the 'barking exercise' is that of shouting. Richard Pohlwhele has described⁸⁶ the appearance of this phenomenon among the Irish, who because of its persistence in their revival meetings came to be known as the Irish Shouters. He tells that under the stress of revival these people often shouted "till they might be heard to the distance of a mile."⁸⁷ Mrs. Trollope records⁸⁸ that much shouting prevailed at a camp meeting revival in America in the early years of the nineteenth century. The presence of this abnormality among the early Methodists is evidenced by the term "Shouters", early applied to them in derision.

An illustration of shouting during the stress of revival is of value at this point. J. Howley records an instance which occurred during the '59 revival in Wales.

"A Methodist lady was yoked to an Episcopalian husband, who disdained to accompany her to the Revival meetings in her chapel, saying he did not believe in revivalistic excitement, and bidding her go alone to her own place. Her importunity finally prevailed, and he accompanied her. The atmosphere of the service was heavily charged with

heavenly magnetism, and the Churchman grew uneasy. 'I'll have to shout,' he whispered. 'No, don't,' she curtly replied. The surge of his emotions becoming nigh intolerable, he said again. 'I must shout.' 'Go to your own place to shout,' rejoined the wife dryly. The rising tide threatening to submerge him, he said, 'I must shout or die.' 'Well, shout if you must,' answered his wife. Immediately he began to cry with a loud-sounding, recitative voice: 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, etc.'" (89)

(c) Inspired speaking.

Closely related to this "shouting" on the part of participants in a revival, we find certain phenomena exhibited by the revivalists themselves. These have been designated as the "holy whine" and the "hywl". The first was characteristic of the Separate Baptists in Early Virginia, while the second was much in evidence during the recent Welsh revival. Concerning the first of these, W. M. Gewehr says:

"Certain peculiarities of address distinguished the preaching of the Separate Baptists. Probably the most striking of these was a mannerism known as the 'holy whine', which had its origin in open air preaching and consisted of a rising and falling of the tone to relieve the strain. It became a habit and was long continued as an appropriate form for the pulpit discourse. In addition they indulged in vehement gesticulations, odd whoops, and an impassioned manner which moved their congregation to tears, trembling, screams and fallings.' (90)

Another form of inspired speaking, much heard in the Welsh revival, was the "hywl".⁹¹ Since this was much stressed during that revival an example of it is of value. J. Rogues de Fursac records the following example related by a Welsh man.

"Several years ago, well before the Revival, a Welsh minister was preaching on the Passion of Christ. When he came to speak of the bloody sweat in the garden of Olives, he entered into an excess of hwyl, rose to the chanting tone which characterizes this state, and continued to preach or rather to chant in this way for ten minutes, then he regained consciousness and resumed the ordinary tone of a sermon. When the sermon was over, he remembered vaguely that the moment when he began to speak of the sweat of blood, he felt choked, but could not recall a word that he had said during the hwyl. Those ten minutes were blotted out of his life, as it were - yet it appears that he was never more eloquent." (92)

In many revivals there have been instances of other 'inspired speaking' when apparently ignorant individuals spoke with seeming fluency and ease. Two cases from the recent Welsh revival were reported to A. T. Fryer by a Welsh clergyman. This reporter said concerning the first, a young girl about eighteen years of age:

"She can scarcely read and has never had any opportunity for culture - brought up amid squalid surroundings, her father being a very careless and indifferent man; her mother died when she was a child.

This young girl gives expression to the most refined literary sentiments, couched in admirable phraseology. Her form of language is partly Biblical and partly the natural mode of conversation. She refers constantly to her mother, though she has been dead about fifteen years." (93)

The other case was that of a labouring man about forty years old, whom the reporter said "had never taken part publicly before this time. He also is extraordinarily eloquent and choice in diction. The form of his language is largely drawn from hymnology." 94

(d) Singing.

Still another form of vocal expression which appeared in

many revivals was "singing". One writer describes it as "a peculiar singing exercise in which the subject in a very happy state of mind would sing most melodiously, not from the nose, or mouth, but entirely in the breast, the sounds issuing thence. This was the accompaniment of visions of the Holy City when those under its influence attempted to join in the songs of the angelic host."⁹⁵

The same phenomenon is said to have manifested itself during the Khassia Hills revival in India. There it is recorded that a girl in a trance sang in a subdued voice⁹⁶ hymns unknown to anyone present. These seemed to be "the spontaneous production of the moment, like water bubbling from a natural spring." Hymn after hymn came without seeming effort, sometimes to new tunes, and other times to familiar tunes, which repeated time and again, but always came true as to time and rhyme.⁹⁷

(3) Cessation of vocal expression.

(a) Dumbness (demon possession)

There are many cases in revivals of the cessation of vocal expression, cases where the individual finds himself no longer able to speak. H. S. Dyer mentions one such case as having taken place during the revival in India. She says:

"One boy appeared to be possessed with a demon. For hours he was prayed for, but a dumb spirit seized him and he refused to speak a word. The evangelist (revivalist) brought the boy up to the light where he could look into his eyes, and commanded the demon in him to depart. He spoke not to the boy, but to the demon. All at once the boy seemed to be freed, and began to cry out to God to save him. He was indeed glad to be free and was soon rejoicing in the Saviour." (98)

It is astounding that Miss Dyer, a modern writer, should thus seek to explain the dumbness on the part of the boy. In ascribing it to demon possession, however, she is only accepting a belief which has been held by some people in every age. As a matter of fact some form of demoniacal possession is accepted by many Christian people to-day.

Although it has not always taken the form of a dumb demon we have many alleged cases reported as occurring in revivals. During John Wesley's work, especially around Bristol, there were many cases of supposed demon possession. Wesley appears several times in the role of exorcist, casting out demons from his followers. One such incident is illuminating as to his belief in demon possession.

"October 25 - I was sent for to one in Bristol, who was taken ill the evening before. She lay on the ground furiously gnashing her teeth, and after awhile roared aloud. It was not easy for three or four persons to hold her, especially when the name of Jesus was named. We prayed; the violence of her symptoms ceased, though without a complete deliverance. In the evening I was sent for to her again. She began screaming before I came into the room; then broke out into a horrid laughter, (99) mixed with blasphemy. One, who apprehended a preternatural agent to be concerned in this, asking, 'How didst thou dare to enter into a Christian?' was answered, 'She is not a Christian - she is mine.' (100)

It is further reported that the second day after, Wesley called and prayed with her with the result that "all her pangs ceased in a moment, she was filled with peace, and knew that the son of wickedness was departed from her." 101

(b) Of the hand (body), etc.

(1) Those affecting other bodily action.

(a) Loss of consciousness, semi-consciousness, etc.

In most revivals cases could be found of those who under the stress of the meetings became semi-conscious or at times unconscious. This has been variously designated in different revivals. The writers on the Methodist revival refer to "those who dropped as dead"; in the literature of the Kentucky revival we hear of the "falling exercise"; the writers on the Ulster revival refer to it as "being struck". In the Welsh '59 revival such phenomena are designated "sleeping cases", while in the revival in India we hear of those who "went into trances" or "became unconscious".

The prevalence of this phenomenon in the Wesleyan revival is borne out by the fact that Wesley listed in his Journal the cases of eighty-five persons who "dropped as dead".¹⁰² The extent of this phenomenon in the Kentucky revivals is shown when we consider the statement of R. M'Nemar that "on one occasion three thousand fell."¹⁰³ He made this on the basis of an actual attempt to count the "spiritually slain."¹⁰⁴ In an account of the Irish '59 revival we read that in one meeting "upwards of one hundred persons lay prostrate in the pews."¹⁰⁵

Luckily, seemingly unprejudiced spectators have furnished us with the actual procedure in these cases. One such writer describes this phenomenon as follows:

"It is impossible to give an account of all the various shades of difference in the appearance of those who are affected. The following may serve as a general outline of

the work: when a person begins to be affected, he generally sinks down in the place where he stood, and is for a few minutes overwhelmed in tears; he then makes a weeping noise -- some person near lays hold of him -- he shrieks aloud -- and discovers a desire to be on his back -- in this he is indulged -- and a friend sits down and supports the head of the person in his lap. Every tear now leaves his eye and he shouts aloud for about 20 minutes. Meanwhile the features of his face are calm and regular. His voice becomes more and more feeble for about 20 minutes more. By this time he is speechless, and motionless, and lies quiet perhaps an hour. During this time his pulse is rather lower than the usual state, -- the extremities are cold, the skin fresh and clear, the features of the face full, the eyes closed, but not so close as in sleep." (106)

Another example taken this time from an account of the Ulster '59 revival presents other features. A girl had been "struck" and was surrounded by a small group of her friends who looked upon her as an object of solicitude. The observer, W. M. Wilkinson reports:

"A young woman lay extended at full length, her eyes closed, her hands clasped and elevated, and her body curved in a spasm so violent that it appeared to rest, arch-like, upon her heels and the back portion of her head. In that position she lay without speech or motion for several minutes. Suddenly she uttered a terrific scream and tore handfuls of hair from her uncovered head. Extending her open hands in a repelling attitude of the most appalling terror, she exclaimed, 'Oh that fearful pit! - Lord Jesus, save me! I am a sinner, a most unworthy sinner - but oh, Lord, take him away, take him away!' O Christ, come - come quickly! Oh, Saviour of sinners, remove him from my sight! During this paroxysm three strong men were hardly able to restrain her. She extended her arms on either side, clutching spasmodically at the grass, shuddering with terror, and shrinking from some fearful inward vision; but she ultimately fell back exhausted, nerveless, and apparently insensible. How long she remained in that condition we are unable to say." (107)

These examples could be multiplied from the various accounts

of revivals if one cared to do so. Many witnesses, some inclined to look upon the exercises as the working of the Spirit, others more critical, have described these faintings, fallings, and sleeping cases.

There have been variations of the exercise in different revivals. In some those affected dropped as though dead and remained in a state of seeming coma. In other cases the unconscious state came after a long period of shouting, weeping, etc. The length of time during which the individual was unconscious or semi-conscious varied in different cases. C. C. Cleveland, speaking of the Kentucky revival, says: "The one who fell would lie helpless for from fifteen minutes to twenty-four hours and even longer, sometimes perfectly motionless."¹⁰⁸

(b) Loss of control without any loss of consciousness

Under this head we find a number of related phenomena such as "dancing", "leaping", "jerking", "rolling" and "running". In various revivals we find different ones prevalent. In some cases all forms are exhibited, sometimes as a prelude to trance states, sometimes as separate phenomena.

1. Dancing.

This exercise in its involuntary expression was very much like the dances of the "whirling dervishes." It appeared as a rule on the part of individuals who had been subject to the "jerks", and usually took effect during the singing of a lively tune.¹⁰⁹ Thus one

writer reports an incident from the Kentucky revival.

"On one occasion just after the sermon, a lively tune was suddenly started by someone in the audience. A young woman began to whirl around like a top. She continued for an hour without stopping, whirling at the rate of fifty times a minute, complaining of pain or distress when the singing stopped." (110)

In the latter part of the Kentucky revival voluntary dancing was encouraged as a means of warding off disagreeable exercises.¹¹¹ Dignified clergymen sometimes set the example for their listeners. R. M'Nemar thus relates the case of a minister by the name of John Thompson:

"At the spring sacrament at Turtle Creek in 1804 br. Thompson had been constrained just at the close of the meeting to go to dancing and for an hour or more to dance in a regular manner round the stand, all the while repeating in a low tone of voice -- 'This is the Holy Ghost - Glory!'" (112)

It is likewise recorded that in the winter of 1804 the Schismatics - those Presbyterians in Ohio and Kentucky who had severed connections with the Presbyterian church - began to praise God in the dance, encouraging each other to unite in the exercise. Many justified themselves by scriptural quotations.¹¹³ The dancing is described as a gentle, and not ungraceful movement, with little variety in the step to the accompaniment of a lively tune.¹¹⁴

2. Leaping.

Very similar to "dancing" was the "leaping" exercise. Rev. Lyle - a minister in Kentucky during the revival - reported that he

saw several young women leaping most nimbly at Point Pleasant in 1803. A young girl sprang a dozen times nearly two feet from the ground notwithstanding that she was held by the hands.¹¹⁵

Leaping also appeared among a group of Calvinistic Methodists in Wales in the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The exercise was especially prevalent at their general assemblies which were held twice or thrice a year at Caernarvon, Pwllheli, and Bala, in rotation. Under the stress of great revival excitement and the influence of music their leaping exercise took place. So common was it to them that they were dubbed Jumpers by outsiders. An observer describes a meeting and the exercise:

"It is not till the last hymn is sung that any uncommon symptoms are exhibited. The tune consists only of a single strain and the hymn having but one verse, this verse is, in consequence repeated over and over, sometimes for half an hour, and sometimes, if their spirit of enthusiasm is much excited, for upwards of an hour. With this begin their motions. It is sung once or twice over without any apparent effect. The first motion to be observed is that of the upper part of their body from right to left. Then they raise their hands, and often strike one hand violently against the other. . . . Men and women indiscriminately, cry and laugh, jump and sing, with the wildest extravagance imaginable." (116)

3. Jerking.

The "jerk" exercise has been prevalent in many revivals. It was especially prominent in the revival in Kentucky. At first it was confined to spasmodic jerking of the forearm at short intervals; but later it affected every muscle, nerve, and tendon in the body. The unhappy victim shook in every joint. Sometimes the head would be

jerked backward and forward with great rapidity. Peter Cartwright tells of one man so exercised who fetched a violent jerk, snapped his neck, fell, and soon expired.¹¹⁷ M'Nemar's description, being that of an eye-witness, is valuable:

"Nothing in nature could better represent this strange and unaccountable operation than for one to goad another, alternately on every side, with a piece of red-hot iron. The exercise commonly began in the head which would fly backward and forward, and from side to side with a quick jolt which the person would naturally labor to suppress but in vain, and the more one labored to stay himself and be sober the more he staggered and the more rapidly his twitches increased. He must necessarily go as he was stimulated, whether with a violent dash on the ground and bounce from place to place like a football, or hop round with head, limbs and trunk, twitching and jolting in every direction, as if they must inevitably fly asunder. . . . By this strange operation the human frame was commonly so transformed and disfigured, as to lose every trace of its natural appearance. Some times the head would be twitched right and left to a half round with such velocity that not a feature could be discovered, but the face appear as much behind as before, and in the quick progressive jerk, it would seem as if the person was transmuted into some other species of creature. . . . Such as were seized with the jerks were wrested at once, not only from under their government, but that of every one else so that it was dangerous to attempt confining them, or touching them in any manner, to whatever danger they were exposed." (118)

4. Rolling and running.

Various other exercises are really modifications of those studied. Two such worthy of mention are "rolling" and "running".

Those affected with the former of these would fall to the ground and roll over and over like a wheel, regardless of a chance mud-puddle or other obstacles that might happen to be in the way.¹¹⁹

Those affected by the latter would run with amazing swift-

ness leaping over obstructions in the path. With some it seems to have been a means of expressing possession by the divine spirit, while with others it was an expression of an attempt to escape from those "exercises" which accompanied conviction.

(c) Disturbances of other somatic functions.

In addition to the various phenomena which we have studied there were certain other "exercises" which are difficult to classify other than as disturbances of the somatic functions. Nevertheless, it is of value to list them.

1. Weeping and laughter.

These two functions are rather closely related and we find them to be rather intimately related as revival phenomena. In many cases the swing in the gamut of emotions from weeping to laughter or vice versa took place with seeming ease.

In the Methodist revival we find many cases of people who broke into tears. Thus while Wesley was preaching at Newgate a woman broke into strong cries and tears.¹²⁰ Again at Wapping (London) many of those who heard the preaching of Wesley began to call upon God with strong cries and fell to tears.¹²¹ In the revival in India there were similar instances. The leader of the Welsh revival - Evan Roberts - at some of his meetings "would cry 'his heart out', his tears and sobs affecting the most callous present."¹²²

Closely akin to crying was laughing. This became so common that the "Holy Laugh" is often referred to. In this connection B. W. Stone says:

"The laughing exercise was frequent, confined solely with the religious. It was a loud, hearty laughter, but one sui generis; it excited laughter in no one else. The subject appeared rapturously solemn, and his laughter excited solemnity in saints and sinners." (123)

2. Other functions.

In addition we have examples of disturbances such as "feeling electric shocks", "sweating", "horripilation", "choking", "trembling", "beating the breasts", etc. Examples of these can be drawn from many revivals from the New England Awakening under Jonathan Edwards to the Khassia Hills revival in India. At this point, however, it seems sufficient to merely mention their presence. Many of them served as the forerunners and signs of more complicated excesses which were to come.

C. Explanation of phenomena.

Having passed in review the various types of abnormal phenomena which characterize revivals, we are faced with the task of explaining these manifestations. This must be done in the light of the best knowledge afforded us by modern psychology, and medicine.

It must be frankly admitted that these phenomena do not seem to have been considered of sufficient importance to call forth much study and research on the part of medical men.¹²⁴

On the other hand, while modern psychology presents no paucity of material, it presents some diversity of views. Thus while there is an essential agreement as to the factors responsible for the production of these phenomena there is no seeming agreement as to the actual process. The writer is, therefore, faced with the nec-

essity of selecting those points of view which to him seem most logical and presenting them for consideration.

On one thing, modern students of human nature are agreed concerning these phenomena, and that is that their cause is to be found in emotion, and that writ large. They are essentially the extremes of emotional disintegration. They are "emotional cataclysms which ensue from the exhaustion of social arts."¹²⁵ Under the stress of great emotion the somatic functions of the body are disturbed, the various bodily mechanisms, which are usually the unobtrusive servants of outward behavior, rebel and leave the individual at the mercy of random movements.

Further, the factors which tend to bring about this disintegration - the mental qualities and states favorable to these striking phenomena - are expectation, abundance of feeling, and passive suggestibility.¹²⁶ One writer defines it as "the suggestibility of the mass."¹²⁷ That these factors definitely enter in will be seen when we consider the phenomena more in detail as to causation.

Moreover, modern psychology declares that the actual form of these phenomena is determined by the environment, temperament, mentality, training and previous experience of the individual so affected.¹²⁸ It can not be doubted that hypnotism, sometimes resulting from the power of others, and oftentimes self-induced, plays an important part.

As will be shown later, this breakdown of natural functions brought on through overpowering emotions takes the form of hysteria, a hysteria not far removed from that characteristic of psychopathic

persons. In fact, it is evident, that under the stress of revival excitement, many individuals experience a very definite temporary insanity.¹²⁹

(1) Those affecting the senses.

It seems certain that the revival phenomena which are the result of certain influences acting upon the senses are due to the working of psychological laws rather than to intervention by God. Whereas in ancient times visions and voices were looked upon as manifestations of the divine, we now know that they can be explained as visual and auditory illusions and hallucinations. This is easily seen when we compare the visions and voices experienced by revival converts and those experienced by people in other phases of life.

Sometimes the converts are guilty of experiencing an illusion or hallucination which they interpret as reality. Thus F. M. Davenport explains: "An hallucination is an hallucination, and a vision is a vision, whether it occurs under great religious emotion or entirely apart from it."¹³⁰

Since, also, the relationship between illusion and hallucination is far from being clear, I shall use the latter as an all-inclusive term rather than make an academic distinction.¹³¹

It would be a mistake to suppose that the presence of hallucinations and visions denotes the presence of permanent insanity. There are hallucinations and visions of the sane as well as of the insane. In fact, there seems to be ample evidence to warrant the assertion that hallucinations occur, though rarely, in mind which are

normal so far as one knows.¹³² James Drever states that "overwhelmingly strong emotions - fear, grief, and the like - are capable of producing this result with individuals otherwise sane, the emotions playing the same part as the delusions in the case of the insane."¹³³

Thus we come to what A. Mair regards as the central question in the theory of hallucinations. This he states as follows:

"What are the special subjective conditions under which a state of consciousness arises which bears the character of a sense-perception although the normal conditions are absent?" (134)

In answer to this question two prominent psychological theories have been evolved: (1) the centrifugal theory, supported by such men as Taine, Ferrier, Greisinger, and Krafft-Ebing; (2) the dissociation theory, supported by William James, Kandinsky, Parish, and Münsterberg.¹³⁵ Unfortunately no completely satisfactory explanation is yet available.

To the writer the dissociation theory seems to take into account more adequately the many factors involved. It also seems the more valuable in the study of revival phenomena. It is well, at this time, to consider this theory somewhat in detail. James Drever explains it thus:

"The mechanism of hallucinations has been described by James with his usual plausibility. Arguing on a physiological basis, he maintains, first, that sensations and images are due to the activity of the same nervous centers; secondly, that in the case of sensation there is a peculiar intensity of nervous discharge which is absent in the case of images, because of the fact that energy is being continually drawn off along association paths; and,

thirdly, that with the blocking of these paths there may be an accumulation of energy, which ultimately leads to a discharge having sensational intensity even though the occasion of the discharge is only an image. Hallucination is produced in such a case because the process in the nervous center is identical with that of a perceptual experience." (136)

While there is considerable difficulty as regards the genesis of hallucinations, the conditions favorable to their development are easily specified. These are basically (1) emotional, and (2) organic.

The most favorable of all is the emotional state. This is what S. H. Prince refers to as "the unusual suggesting the expected."¹³⁷ He shows how the people in Halifax, Nova Scotia kept in constant expectation of the coming of the Germans, actually "saw" them when an unusual phenomenon (the explosion of the town's arsenal) suggested that which was expected. He says:

"In Halifax one idea seemed to dominate most minds and clothe itself in the semblance of reality - the expected Germans. For a long time there had been under public discussion the question as to whether or not the city would be shelled by Zeppelin raiders, or possibly by a fleet at sea. . . . The instant after the explosion a citizen standing here (Dartmouth Heights, a section of the town overlooking Halifax harbor) 'saw' clearly a German fleet manoeuvring in the distance." (138)

In addition certain organic factors play a part. Such conditions as fatigue, the oncoming of sleep, the use of drugs, etc., tend to produce hallucinations. Fatigue brings about a state in which hallucination is easily produced. The truth of this is seen in the account given in The Times (London) of April 15, 1929, of the

discovery of the lost aeroplane, the Southern Cross, in Australia, quoted from a log kept by Mr. Ulm, a member of the crew which lost their lives. They **had** little food for a week; on Wednesday, April 10th., the log reports: "Oh! for cigarettes and food. For the past few days we have all been getting mental mirages of wonderful dishes of foods. It may sound childish, but it is true." ¹³⁹

Another fairly frequent hallucination due to this condition (fatigue) takes the form of a revived perceptual experience as a kind of after-sensation. Thus, after a dance, the music often keeps ringing in the ears with hallucinatory vividness.

Do we not here find an interesting explanation of the auditory hallucinations recorded earlier in the chapter ¹⁴⁰ as occurring in the Welsh revival? The Welsh clergyman who heard the words of a revival song sung by heavenly voices was no doubt experiencing an after-sensation. We are told that he had spent much time in revival meetings. There is good reason to believe that the hymn which he heard sung was one which had been much in his consciousness in revival days. Another interesting sidelight is the fact that he heard it sung in Welsh, the language with which he was most familiar, rather than in the relatively unfamiliar English.

So we see that, accepting J. Drever's explanation of the conditions favorable to hallucinations, there is little reason for surprise that they are so often manifested in a revival milieu. The right emotional condition is aroused through preaching, suggestion, etc., to produce a condition of expectancy. This emotional state being aroused the stage is set for the strange manifestations to take

place. The unusual emotion brings about the expected. The converts in India expecting God to manifest Himself as he is reputed to have done at Pentecost saw tongues of fire, heard a mighty rushing wind, or felt the building shake.

Again the organic factor plays a large part. E. A. Stopford, in his studies of the Ulster revival stressed the importance of this. Many years ahead of his time he showed that fatigue was in many cases directly responsible for many of the phenomena of the revival. He listed certain factors responsible for this fatigue.

"I cannot leave out of account," he says, "the effect of excitement during the hours of the night. The diet of the mill girls often consists wholly of bread and tea - the worst diet for 'cases'. At work for thirteen hours - they are then kept, often till long past midnight, in crowded and ill-ventilated assemblies, (141) subjected to the greatest excitement. I have heard them singing after one o'clock in the morning. We have no right to call the natural result the act of God." (142)

But what can be said concerning the content of visions? Why do they take the form which they do? What provides their imagery? Why, for instance should the young man whose vision was recorded by H. S. Dyer¹⁴³ be subjected to a picture of heaven and hell, or why did the leader of the Jamaica revival hear one of I. D. Sankey's songs in his dream. These questions are answered when thought is given to D. M. Trout's explanation of the factors which enter into a vision.

1. The vision is the prospect of satisfaction of unsatisfied desires.
2. It is in the terms of the subject's knowledge, and the requirements of the situation.

3. The vision occurs during a state of abstraction or disorientation when the dreamer is not highly sensitive to social criticism.
4. Those visions which satisfy the desires, and accord with the conceptions current in the dreamer's group are regarded as valid. (144)

The study of revival visions and dreams bears out the truth of these statements. The last factor enters in very definitely. There is a decided tendency for those who record such visions to include only those which accord with the conceptions current in the group. Again it will be seen that the training, experience, and mental make-up of the individual have much to do with determining the form which his vision will take.¹⁴⁵

But what of such experiences as those of people who under the stress of revival are struck blind and remain so for indefinite periods? How is this phenomenon to be accounted for?

Modern psychology has listed and studied many cases of this type. Many war cases were reported of hysterical anesthetics involving temporary (psychogenic) blindness; in other words, blindness in which no diseased condition of the eye or nerve tract could be discovered and in which the physical reflexes remained quite normal. The trouble was definitely psychological rather than organic, for it disappeared when the causes of the hysteria were removed.

A recent example of this type of blindness was reported to the Lancet.¹⁴⁶ This report told of a man, aged twenty, of good physique and quite rational in every way, who while at work on electric wires was subjected to a flash which seemed to "strike his eyes" due

to the sudden generation of a spark. He at once became so blind that everything "appeared as in a fog", and he was obliged to get some one to lead him about.

Examination proved the eyes to be undamaged. He was finally cured by the doctor's assuring him repeatedly that his vision would come back. His vision began slowly to improve, and after the lapse of a month his sight was quite restored.¹⁴⁷

It is quite reasonable to suppose that blindness occurring during revivals has a somewhat similar basis. In some cases it is definitely the result of auto-suggestion and in others it reflects due to intense emotion the organic disintegration of personality in an hysterical individual.¹⁴⁸ As to the actual process involved, R. H. Thouless's contention seems to be of value, namely, that "psychogenic blindness is . . . always due to an unwillingness to see, i.e. to understand and accept, what is incompatible with the conscious attitude."¹⁴⁹ And in many cases that condition of "unwillingness" proceeds from an organism that has been thoroughly weakened by a prolonged emotional orgy.

(2) Glossolalia.

The emotional factors entering in to the production of other revival phenomena also play a great part in the production of the phenomenon known as "speaking with tongues". The frequency of its appearance is, according to J. B. Pratt,¹⁵⁰ due to two things: (1) the presence of an overpowering emotion altogether in excess of ideas, and (2) the powerful suggestion derived from the Acts of the

Apostles and the writings of St. Paul.

The part which these factors play in the revival expression of this phenomenon cannot be denied. Many an individual under the stress of revival excitement has felt the need of giving vent to his feelings. Emotion must have an outlet and if it can not find it in one way, it will in another. The man in the camp meeting of whom G. A. Coe writes, who cried out, "Brethren, I feel -- I feel -- I feel I feel -- I feel -- I can't tell you how I feel, but O how I feel,"¹⁵¹ was seeking to give expression to emotion basically incommunicable in words. On the other hand, as J. B. Pratt shows¹⁵², it was essentially explosive and had to be expressed somehow. That it should, under the stress of emotion, find expression in a meaningless jargon is not surprising.

There is also little doubt but that the events of Pentecost are looked upon by revival groups as master patterns for religious expression.¹⁵³ Great stress is put upon those things which are "biblical" and "apostolic". Since according to the New Testament such utterances were considered manifestations of the Holy Spirit, their presence among revival converts is greatly to be desired.

According to D. M. Trout this behavior is apt to occur as follows:

1. In societies where it has been in vogue, or is regarded as a divine manifestation;
2. When the individual is:
 - a. Greatly relaxed
 - b. Highly expectant
3. When crowd enthusiasm or other sources of individual intensification are present. (154)

He also finds some related phenomena which throw light on its origin.

"In certain varieties of stuttering the subject may under excitement, utter a meaningless babel of sounds, which might, in societies entirely ignorant of the causes of such behavior, be readily attributed to divine possession of some sort. Once the idea becomes established in a society all persons susceptible to such movements receive honor and fame whenever they so perform. It becomes a highly desirable form of religious activity under such circumstances." (155)

While a number of ingenious theories have been evolved to explain this phenomenon¹⁵⁶, the one generally accepted that they are ecstatic, and the result of the dominance of the lower brain-centers under great excitement seems sufficient to fit the facts in the cases which we have studied.¹⁵⁷ Whatever may have been the nature of the utterances on the day of Pentecost¹⁵⁸, a careful examination of revival instances of the phenomena fails to reveal any indication of an actual language.¹⁵⁹ Hence the psychology of this state which results in "speaking in tongues" is rather well known.

"All the features fit easily into certain familiar forms of behavior in hysterical disturbances. The prophetic state it will be recalled was an ecstatic state in which inhibitions were largely relaxed and the emotional reactions of the individual to moral and political conditions allowed a comparatively free expression. But the individual in the prophetic ecstatic state remained still sufficiently well-organized to have the expression appear through the channels of intelligible language. Inhibitions are overwhelmed in the prophetic state, but the nervous organization of the individual is not seriously disturbed. The next step in the direction of weakening of the nervous organization is the breakup of the finer co-ordinations, of speech for instance. And that is exactly what happened at times with the prophets. From impassioned prophecy they

passed to incoherency..The language habits gave way under the storm of emotional stimulation. When the member of a sect which believes in the divine nature of these more extreme forms of behavior is emotionally aroused to the point that he is 'moved to speak', he is in a state which is psychologically comparable to that of the prophet. But, as he continues to speak, eventually his emotions so flood the speech mechanisms with excitations that they no longer function in the normal manner. The result is the 'speaking with tongues' phenomenon." (160)

Furthermore, the revival milieu applies one other necessary factor in the production of these phenomena, "the social setting which manifests approval at their appearance."¹⁶¹ Because of this approval these phenomena are more easily produced and reproduced as is the case with all hysterical states.

(3) Other vocal expressions.

The above factors go far to explain other phenomena involving vocal expression such as we have previously recorded, the barking exercise, shouting, singing, etc. The two factors - excess of emotion and the realization of group approval - make for their production.

The "barking exercise" came into being in the first place due to overpowering emotion. That emotion expressed itself in gut-teral groans and barks, rather than in disconnected syllables. Later on when "barking" gained public approval it was continued because socially approved.¹⁶² Furthermore, it needs to be kept in mind that this phenomenon is not necessarily connected with religion. The imitations have been of a cat, or sheep, or a dove, depending upon the age, social demand, etc.¹⁶³

The part played by excess emotion in the production of these phenomena is shown in the report that barkers finally learned that dancing would give relief.¹⁶⁴ In this way the surplus nervous energy was drained off.

In like manner it is easy to explain the cases of individuals who "had to shout", or "sing". In the same category, too, are the cases of individuals who were said to produce inspired speaking. Under the stress of great emotion and the hypnotic influence of the revival they found it necessary to find a channel for their emotions and the readiest channel was used. This explains the case quoted by J. Howley¹⁶⁵, of the Episcopalian who shouted out the Apostles Creed. The same factor was involved in the case of people who quoted songs which no one present had heard. They were merely songs which had long been hidden in the consciousness of the speaker. Fryer believes that much of the inspired speaking during the Welsh revival was merely the repetition of material long ago so stored. He says:

"Some letters have appeared in the newspapers on the wonderful eloquence displayed by unlettered persons in prayer and speaking, and not a few men have claimed that the eloquence is proof of direct Divine inspiration. I have inquired into this and find that for the most part the eloquence consisted in a number of persons being able under the excitement of the moment and the contagion of crowds to express themselves with unusual fluency but nearly always in the words of the Bible or hymns." (166)

Somewhat similar factors enter into the production of the hywl. While at times the condition was perhaps simulated, when genuine it was brought into being through a temporary loss of consciousness resulting from the presence of an overpowering emotion.

J. Rogues de Fursac explains it saying: "Psychologically it constituted by an intense emotion the loss of consciousness of the exterior world and the following amnesia." 167

He also reveals that as in the other cases of eloquent speaking a good deal depended upon the receptivity of the audience. He maintains that the audience is put in a receptive state through the hypnotic influence of the minister. Words "eloquent" when heard by a receptive audience, would prove very ordinary when read in cold blood. For:

"The hywl is essentially contagious. The emotion which passes from the clergyman to the worshipper produces on the part of the worshipper a state of consciousness analagous, or else identical to that of the clergyman. The ideas pass over the consciousness almost without touching (168) it, and in any case without leaving there any precise and lasting trace. But they penetrate only the more profoundly to the depth of the psychical being and their action on the personality is ten fold. The subject retains no clear idea of that which has been proven. But he has the feeling that he has passed through an indefinable happiness, that he has touched something inexpressible, although essential to reality." (169)

(4) The cessation of vocal expression.

It will be remembered that according to Miss Dyer's reports¹⁷⁰ there were a number of cases during the revival in India of individuals who were suddenly struck dumb. This condition she ascribed to the presence of demons. In other words, "possession of the individual by a dumb demon."

One wonders that in a modern age a present-day missionary should accept such an hypothesis. We need not accept it. Modern psychology and modern medicine teach us otherwise. Instead, we see

that under the stress of great revival excitement certain hysterical people exhibit those tendencies which are characteristic of their condition. Cases of hysterical mutism are common. In this condition, as J. Jastrow and A. Meyer maintain, "all spoken language is lost even the most common words, so often retained in true aphasia." 171

Even the cases which John Wesley records need not be ascribed to demon possession. As G. B. Cutten so aptly says: "The disaggregation of consciousness, or a split in personality, with an insistent idea in the secondary consciousness, is all that science needs to-day to furnish a case of demoniacal possession as wild and fiendish as the most fastidious could wish." 172 In the case cited 173 the symptoms show how the excitement produced by the revival stimulated violent and emotional tendencies almost to the point of insanity. S. G. Dimond feels that many of the features exhibited can only be explained psychoanalytically. "Notable the evidence of a repressed complex centering in the name of Jesus, and the dissociation of personality involved in the patient's reply, 'She is not a Christian - she is mine,' spoken on behalf of the devil." 174

In this connection it is well to remember that Miss Beauchamp, of Dr. Morton Prince's experiments, was no more hypnotized when she assumed the personality of "devilish" Sally than are many revival converts under the influence of revival emotion.

(5) Loss of consciousness and semi-consciousness.

The part which hysteria plays in the production of revival phenomena is nowhere better illustrated than in those phenomena which

affect the body in such a way as to produce loss of consciousness. There have been far-seeing individuals in every revival milieu who have recognized this fact, but their observations have met with derision. Witness the reception of the (then) scientific study which the Archdeacon of Meath made of the Ulster revival.¹⁷⁵

The best proof of the hysterical basis of these revival phenomena is to compare them with the action of patients suffering from hysteria. In this connection consider J. Jastrow's description of the symptoms of hysteria.

"Convulsive seizures are of common occurrence in pronounced hysteria. . . . They rarely come with extreme suddenness, and are frequently resisted by the patient for some time. If the patient falls, severe injury or dangerous positions are avoided. The resulting spasms are irregular; opisthotonos - a position in which the body is arched backwards and rests on the head and heels - is not by French observers. The avoidance of injury in falling, the use of language, and other symptoms indicate that the unconsciousness in the hysterical fit is partial only."
(176)

Comparison of this description with those recorded earlier in the chapter¹⁷⁷ drawn from revival literature shows very clearly that they coincide as to symptoms, etc. In the case cited by W. M. Wilkinson¹⁷⁸, a glimpse at the underlined portion is sufficient to enable one to classify the patient as hysterical.

Also in revival reports we read of marvelling on the part of spectators that those who fell escaped injury. Rather than being a manifestation of divine intervention, this gives added reason for classing these phenomena as hysterical.¹⁷⁹ Thus Gowen says:

"One would naturally expect many serious injuries if not a few fatalities, from the violent actions of those so powerfully affected, but singularly enough we find no record of such; on the contrary we are told that very few hurts were received, and those were not at all dangerous. Evidently those most under the influence of the excitement were largely if not wholly anaesthetic." (180)

Another characteristic of hystericals is that "they have a craving for sympathy and notoriety." This is true in the case of revival converts as was shown by E. A. Stopford. He records the instance of a group of people gathered about a hysterical revival patient. Soon some one turned to another girl who had been subject to "being struck down" and requested that she tell her story. His comment upon her response is revealing. "How she did brighten up," he writes, "at becoming Number One!" 181

Suggestion gets in its deadly work; public approval adds to the fire; and soon the individual is consumed in the emotional flame resulting in a loss of consciousness. Science gives a satisfactory explanation which belief in divine intervention cannot. J. Jastrow's description of people susceptible to such phenomena is self-explanatory:

"The subjects (of hysteria) are extremely susceptible to suggestion by stronger wills than their own, and exhibit feeble resistance to various instinctive promptings or temptations to which they may be subjected. At the same time, they are by no means deficient in intelligence and ingenuity they display in attracting attention." (182)

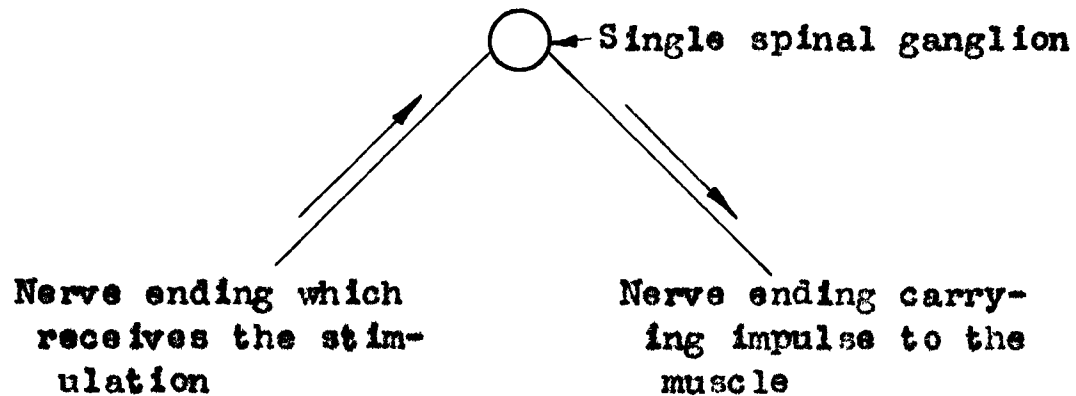
Thus the phenomena which are associated with hysteria tend to find expression in the hysterical individual. We have the appearance of catalepsy and trance,¹⁸³ and these phenomena are no less hu-

man because they are characterized as "sleeping cases" or as "being struck", and are discovered in a revival milieu. And so with the phenomena which are the result of the disturbance of other somatic functions. Under the stress of great emotion, under the influence of hypnotism, so prevalent in a revival milieu, their appearance is quite natural. The pent-up emotion of one individual expresses itself through the channel of bodily contortions, in another through the utterance of garbled syllables, in another through a hysterical laugh, while still another individual gives way entirely and falls into a trance. Whether the cause of that emotion be fear of a Zeppelin raid¹⁸⁴, fear of an earthquake¹⁸⁵, or fear of eternal damnation makes no difference in its expression. There is involved in each of these cases a most rudimentary psychological principle, as F. M. Davenport has elucidated.¹⁸⁶

The individuals who first give way to impulse are those who are the relatively untrained elements of society, "those whose spinal ganglia and lower brain centers are more highly developed than the higher rational and volitional faculties that have their throne in the gray matter of the cortex."¹⁸⁷ With these people, when a sensation passes along the afferent nerve, the impulse to action is at once delivered over the efferent nerve to the muscle. This type of reaction F. M. Davenport sketches as follows:¹⁸⁸ (See Figure 1 on next page)

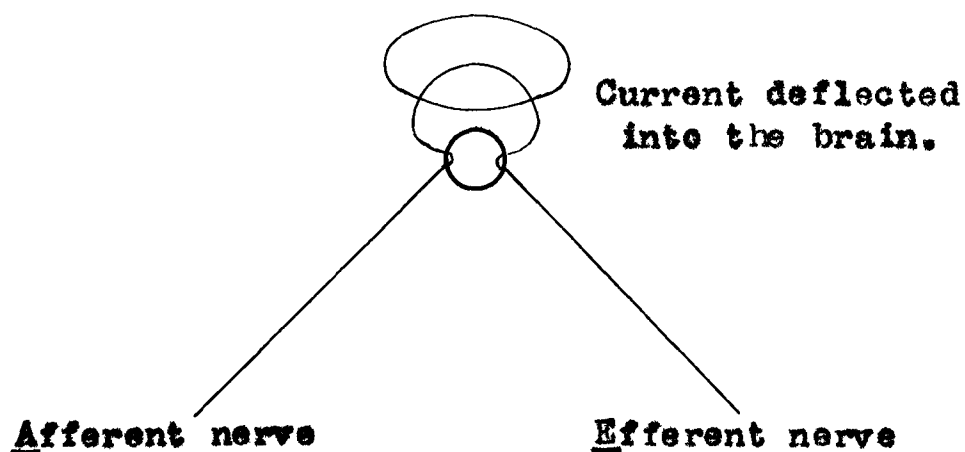
In the case of more highly developed individuals, however, those in whom the higher centers are well developed, the current of sensation or part of it is deflected into the brain. Thus the sensa-

Figure 1.



tion or complex of sensations is detained, one might say, and the whole critical apparatus of the cerebrum may be brought to bear upon the matter in the process of reflection. This F. M. Davenport sketches as follows: (See Figure 2 on this page)

Figure 2.



So if the brain decides that it is good for the muscles to act, it will reinforce the impulse. Or again it may inhibit the impulse, and the whole life of reflective action will begin.

D. The present status of these phenomena.

(1) Tendency to decrease due to increase of general intelligence.

In the light of the above facts it is little wonder that as intelligence has increased, these phenomena have tended to decrease. More and more men have come to a scientific understanding of their causes. Step by step the domain of the mental is being reduced to law and order. In this chapter we have studied certain religious phenomena, long considered supernatural, but which can now be understood more fully and have been shown to be quite natural. In the light of these facts we must agree with F. M. Davenport that: "So far as their relation to a genuine religious experience is concerned, the most that can be said of them is that they may sometimes be the concomitants of such experience, but ought never to be mistaken for it."¹⁹⁰

In the last analysis they are phenomena "infinitely more familiar to the medicine-man of the savage, than to man in his higher forms."¹⁹¹

NOTES

Chapter III.

1. For a consideration of those appearing in the Kentucky revival see C. C. Cleveland: G. R. W. Chap. 4 - pp. 87-127; for the Wesleyan revival see S. G. Dimond: P. M. R. Chap. 6 - pp. 124-139; the revival in India see H. S. Dyer: R. I. pp. 48-77
2. P. T. R. R. Chap. 9 - pp. 216-245
3. C. C. N. C. pp. 211-212
4. i. e. The "Holy Laugh" very prominent in the recent Welsh revival.
5. A special type of "singing exercise". See C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 103. The Welsh "hywl" will be discussed later in connection with this phenomenon. Also the "holy whine". Cf. W. M. Gewehr: G. A. V. p. 114
6. Some writers refer to this as "demon possession". Cf. H. S. Dyer: op. cit. pp. 59-65
7. The soul of a Christian, p. 106
8. In this connection consult W. B. Sprague: Lectures on revivals of religion. In the appendix, made up of letters from prominent ministers of the time, many divergent opinions are to be found.
9. J. Edwards: Thoughts on the revival of religion in New England. p. 250
10. Cf. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 218
11. The Christian history, passim.
12. New England revivals, etc. passim.
13. The Great Awakening, passim.
14. This refers to certain conversions which had taken place.
15. Part of a letter from Mr. Thatcher, minister at Middleborough, East Precinct, Mass., to Mr. Prince, minister at Boston. Letter dated December 11, 1741. Quoted by J. Gillies: Historical collections relating to remarkable periods of the success of the gospel, p. 403
16. op. cit. p. 130
17. Quoted in J. Gillies: op. cit. p. 307-308 (The italics are mine)

18. For example see R. McNemar: The Kentucky revival, etc. pp. 33-34
19. G. Wilkinson: Pentecost; or, the revival of the work of God, p. 111 (The italics are mine)
20. Occurring during the religious revival in the mission fields of India.
21. H. S. Dyer: op. cit. p. 11
22. Some seasonable thoughts on the state of religion in New England, passim.
23. p. 138 of this thesis.
24. See J. B. Pratt: R. C. p. 189
25. op. cit. pp. 219-220
26. F. G. Henke: The gift of tongues and related phenomena at the present day, Amer. J. of Theol. - 193-195
27. loc. cit.
28. See F. Mohr: Das moderne zungenreden, Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift - Vol. 10 - (1908-09) - pp. 61; 69 passim.
29. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 115
30. A treatise concerning religious affections.
31. S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 131
32. Cf. R. McNemar: The Kentucky revival, etc., pp. 23-24
33. Those appearing in specific revivals have received consideration from various writers. See, on the Edwardean revivals, Jonathan Edwards: Thoughts on the revival of religion in New England, and A treatise concerning religious affections; on the Methodist revival, S. G. Dimond: op. cit. esp. Chap. 6; on the Ulster revival, J. Howley: P. M. E. esp. Chap. 3 - Part 1; on the Kentucky revival, C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. esp. Chap. 4; on the recent Welsh revival, J. Rogues de Fursac: M. M. C. esp. pp. 132-163, also H. Bois: Q. R. P. R. esp. pp. 87-123. The most complete study as yet made of the general phenomena which appear in revivals is that of F. M. Davenport: op. cit. esp. Chap. 11.
34. Einführung in die religionspsychologie, p. 21ff. For his complete outline and a very thorough and scholarly discussion of its implications see W. P. Paterson's Hifford Lectures The Nature of Religion, pp. 174-189

35. In my discussion this outline will be somewhat modified, i.e. Modes of control of the hand, is made to include the whole body, but the classification is adhered to in the main.
36. Here it seems well to accept the suggestion of R. H. Thouless and to refer to the latter class as imaginal, for the sake of clearness. "The usual name for this class has been imaginary. This, however, is a misleading word, since in English it suggests an irrelevant judgment on their reality. I propose, therefore, to substitute the word imaginal, which is used in psychology as an adjective to describe mental facts belonging to the same class as images." I. P. R. p. 74 note. In this connection see also S. De Sanctis: Religious conversion, p. 314
37. op. cit. pp. 175-176
38. The native language of the woman narrator was Welsh.
39. A. T. Fryer: Psychological aspects of the Welsh revival, Proc. of the Soc. for Psychical Research - Vol. 19 - (1906-07) - pp. 93-94
40. H. S. Dyer: op. cit. pp. 85-86 (The italics are mine)
41. For examples of such visions in the life of Mohammed as revealed in the Koran see W. P. Paterson: op. cit. pp. 176-177
42. A. T. Fryer: op. cit. p. 142 appendix (The italics are mine)
43. That is, "engaged in prayer."
44. The revival in the West, p. 47
45. V. R. E. pp. 251ff.
46. Ibid: loc. cit.
47. op. cit. pp. 164ff.
48. P. R. A. p. 43 - Case 64
49. J. Baillie: The revival, etc. pp. 59-60
50. op. cit. p. 134 appendix
51. Ibid: p. 95
52. op. cit. p. 85
53. "Times of Blessing" in Manchuria, p. 57

54. op. cit. p. 85
55. See Chap. 1 - pp. 45-46 of this thesis.
56. This hymn is No. 338 in the standard Moody and Sankey hymnal - Sacred Songs and Solos. Edwards's testimony is quoted from M. W. Beckwith: Some religious cults in Jamaica, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 34 - (1923) - p. 34
57. op. cit. p. 127
58. 1694 edition, p. 17. Quoted by L. W. Lang: A study of conversion. p. 97
59. Acts 9: 8-9 (Moffat's translation)
60. Chap. 6
61. Matthew 3: 17
62. Acts 26:13
63. op. cit. p. 176
64. The spiritual life, pp. 124-125
65. op. cit. pp. 33; 85
66. op. cit. p. 206
67. See p. 146 of this chapter.
68. op. cit. p. 134 appendix (The italics are mine)
69. Freely translated:
 "Who cannot but bear Him in remembrance,
 Who cannot but sing His praise;
 Love such as His will not be forgotten,
 As long as holy heaven exists."
70. A. T. Fryer: loc. cit.
71. Error - number omitted in body of text.
72. The most complete study yet made of this phenomenon is Eddison Mosiman's, Das zungenreden - geschichtlich und psychologisch untersucht. (This work has a most complete bibliography on the subject) Another detailed treatment of the subject is Emile Lombard's, De la glossolalie, chez le premiers chretiens et des phenomenes similaires. See also G. B. Cutten: Speaking with

- tongues, G. B. Pratt: op. cit. pp. 163-187; O. R. Pfister: Die psychologische enträtselg der religiösen glossolalie, etc. D. Walker: The gift of Tongues; H. Rust: Das zungenreden, Grenzfragen des Nerven und Seelenleb. - Heft 118 - (1924) - pp. 1-74; F. G. Henke: op. cit. A. Le Baron: A case of psychic automatism, including 'speaking with tongues', Proc. of the Soc. for Psychological Research - Vol. 12 - (1896-97) - pp. 277-297
73. op. cit. p. 156
74. For two interesting theories in explanation of the appearance of the phenomenon at Pentecost see H. E. Edwards: The tongues at Pentecost: a suggestion, Theology, Vol. 16 - (1928) - pp. 248-252, also W. Glynne: Psychology and glossolalia; the book of Acts, Church Quar. Rev. - Vol. 106 - (1928) - pp. 281-300
75. Speaking with tongues, p. 164. In this connection see also J. H. Kaplan: The psychology of prophecy, passim; A. Mordell: The literature of ecstasy, passim; J. W. Povah: The old testament and modern problems in psychology, esp. Chap. 3.
76. Revivals, Contemp. Rev. - Vol. 88 - (1905) - p. 349
77. For a rather complete study of this phenomena in the Irvingite Movement see A. L. Drummond: Edward Irving and the Gift of Tongues, passim. (An unpublished doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh - 1930)
78. op. cit. pp. 186ff.
79. op. cit. p. 187
80. S. Hawthornthwaite: Adventures among the Mormons, pp. 88-91. Quoted by G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. pp. 53-54
81. op. cit. pp. 186-187 note
82. R. M'Nemar: The Kentucky revival, etc., B. W. Stone: The biography of, etc. p. 40
83. The Ghost Dance religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology - (1892-93) - Part 2 - p. 943
84. David A. Benedict: A general history of the Baptist denomination in America, and other parts of the world - Vol. 2 - p. 256. Quoted by C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 101
85. op. cit. p. 80

86. In his Introduction to Bishop Lavington's: "The enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered"
87. Ibid: p. cxi
88. Domestic manners of the Americans, pp. 137-145
89. Quoted by J. Howley: op. cit. p. 122
90. op. cit. p. 114. That this type of preaching did not affect all listeners in the same way is evidenced by the words of a man who said, "he had rather go to hell than be obliged to hear a baptist in order to heaven." loc. cit. J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 183 note, reports attending a negro revival in Mississippi where the preacher intoned his address, - sang it on one or two notes.
91. H. Bois has pointed out that the phenomenon of the hywl is by no means confined to Christianity. In evidence of this he quotes the example of Buddha. "Le hywl, qui joue un si grand role dans les reunions galloises et qui consiste dans le passage de la prose parlee a la poesie psalmodiee, se retrouve en partie dans la predication du Bouddha." Q. R. P. R. p. 153. See also his R. P. G. pp. 268-303 for a most thorough discussion of this phenomenon.
92. op. cit. pp. 140-141. "Il y a plusieurs annees, bien avant le Reveil, un pasteur gallois prechait sur la passion du Christ. Quand il vint a parler de la sueur de sang du jardin des oliviers, il entra dans un acces de hywl, monta au ton chantant qui caracterise cet etat et continua de precher ou plutot de chanter ainsi pendant dix minutes au bout desquelles il reprit conscience et retomba dans le ton ordinaire du sermon. Le sermon fini, il se rappelait vaguement que, au moment ou il commencait a parler de la sueur de sang, il s'etait senti comme serre a la gorge, mais de tout ce qu'il avait dit pendant le hywl, rien n'etait reste dans sa memoire. Ces dix minutes etaient comme effacees de sa vie. - Il parait qu'il ne fut jamais plus eloquent."
93. op. cit. pp. 135-136 appendix
94. Ibid: loc. cit.
95. C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 103
96. H. S. Dyer: op. cit. p. 40 (The italics are mine)
97. In another place, p. 81, the writer says: "Several new hymns were introduced (at Ratnigiri) and these were called 'The Heavenly Songs (or 'The Angels' Hymns'), because they were sung first of all by girls in a trance, and noted down at the time. A girl in

a state of trance sang a hymn which was jotted down in sol-fa by her brother, but he failed to get the words. When she came to consciousness she had no recollection of it. Some days after, in another trance, she sang the same hymn, and this time her brother caught the words as well. The people soon picked up the words and music and it became a great favorite."

98. op. cit. p. 60 (The italics are mine)
99. The "Holy Laugh"? To be studied later in this chapter.
100. Journal, Vol. 2. p. 300
101. G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. p. 111
102. S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 127
103. op. cit. p. 26
104. B. S. Gowen: Some aspects of pestilences and other epidemics, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 18 - (1907) - p. 51
105. S. B. Shaw: The great revival in Wales, etc. p. 267. Quoted from Gibson's Year of Grace.
106. New York Missionary Magazine (1802) 193 (letter from a Presbyterian minister, dated Waxhaw, Lancaster District, South Carolina, April 3, 1802). Quoted By C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. pp. 94-95
107. W. M. Wilkinson: The revival in its physical, psychical, and religious aspects, pp. 62-63
108. op. cit. p. 96
109. The relation of music to certain revival phenomena will be discussed more fully in Chap. 5 of this thesis - "Revival Music and Hymnology"
110. C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 100 (The italics are mine)
111. Ibid: p. 101
112. op. cit. p. 60
113. Cf. Psalm 149:3; Jeremiah 31:4;
114. C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 102 (The italics are mine)
115. R. Davidson: History of the Presbyterian church in Kentucky, pp. 152. Quoted by C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 102

116. Rev. W. Bingley: North Wales, etc. pp. 208-209 (The italics are mine)
117. Autobiography, p. 51
118. op. cit. pp. 61, 62
119. C. C. Cleveland: op. cit. p. 103
120. L. Tyerman: Life and times of John Wesley, Vol. 1 - p. 256
121. Ibid: p. 257
122. A. T. Fryer: op. cit. p. 113 appendix
123. op. cit. p. 41
124. The writer was much surprised to discover the paucity of studies by medical men of these phenomena. After diligent search of medical literature extending over many months, my search was rewarded by only three articles which dealt with the subject in any adequate way. The articles were as follows: Dr. Henry M'Cor-mac: On some features of what is termed revivalism, Dublin Quar. J. of Med. Science - Vol. 28 - (n. s.) - (1859) - pp. 474-478; Dr. David W. Yandell: (Prof. of Surgery at the University of Louisville, Kentucky) Epidemic convulsions, Popular Science Monthly - Vol. 20 - (1881) - pp. 498-507; J. Danforth Taylor: Emotional religion and mental impairment, Medical Times - N. Y. - Vol. 46 - (1918) - pp. 94-95
125. I borrow the phrase from W. R. Leys: The religious control of emotions, p. 11
126. G. A. Coe: The spiritual life. This was discussed rather fully in Chap. 2 of this thesis - "Revivals and Crowd Psychology"
127. G. Stevens: P. G. S. p. 219
128. Cf. R. Rouse and H. C. Miller: Christian experience and psychological processes, etc. pp. 67ff. Also A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 247
129. J. D. Taylor, who has made perhaps the best study of revivals from the standpoint of a medical man explains this as follows: "Note the common experiment on a living frog's leg. Send a physical stimulus in shape of an electrical current through the leg of a live frog and a contraction at once takes place, followed by a relaxation when the current is stopped. Now send a rapid succession of such currents, so the muscle cannot relax after each contraction and the muscle will remain contracted and eventually die of strangulation. Substitute for the electrical stim-

ulus a series of hard blows and a single contraction is produced which is not followed by relaxation but by a titanic rigidity which eventually kills the muscle.

Now compare the frog's muscle with the condition brought about on a sensitive mind by a bombardment of abnormal sense impressions, such as a rabid revivalist produces

The fundamental emotions aroused are directly and essentially depressing, and are associated with fear, dread and panic, from which state, a reactive exaltation is the only relief afforded. The victim on being relieved from his cramp or tetany, passes into the expansive state of maniacal exultation with delusions of grandeur, which are the first symptoms of an unbalanced mind.

We therefore find as an essential result of religious emotional excitement, a disturbance of equilibrium or mental balance with a tendency to instability, with exaltation and depression, which are characteristic of common types of insanity. Emotional religion and mental impairment, Medical Times - N. Y. - Vol. 46 - (1918) - p. 95

130. op. cit. p. 231

131. Psychologists "now generally recognize that the hallucination may not be technically distinct from the illusion, but they find it highly practical to use the old and somewhat rough distinction: viz., that the illusion is a false perception of an objective reality, and that the hallucination is a perceptionlike process without an external object or source." E. S. Conklin: Abnormal psychology, p. 31

132. For a collection of such instances see E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, and F. Podmore: Phantasms of the living, passim.

133. The psychology of everyday life, p. 138

134. Hallucination, E. R. E. Vol. 6 - p. 484

135. For a very complete discussion of both theories see E. S. Conklin: op. cit. pp. 34-42

136. op. cit. p. 137. That there are difficulties in this explanation Drever frankly admits. He goes on to say that "the theory is highly speculative, but nevertheless is not without advantages. It would make positive as well as negative hallucinations dependent upon dissociation, and it would seem particularly applicable to those hallucinations we call dreams." loc. cit.

137. S. H. Prince: Catastrophe and social change, etc. - Columbia Univ. Studies in Hist., Econ. and Public Law - Vol. 94 - No. 212 - (1920-21) - p. 37

138. Ibid: pp. 37-38
139. Quoted by L. W. Lang: op. cit. p. 102
140. pp. 149-150
141. For a description of the type of "crowded and ill-ventilated assemblies" against which E. A. Stopford rebels, see The meeting of the wee ones, etc. passim.
142. The work and counterwork, p. 37
143. See p. 147 of this thesis.
144. Religious behavior, p. 384
145. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. pp. 247-248, shows how these factors influenced the visions of the American Protestant, C. G. Finney; the Catholic, Merswin; and the Japanese Buddhist, Nichiren.
146. K. Campbell: A case of auto-suggestion blindness, Lancet - Vol. 203 - (Vol. 1 for 1922) - p. 276
147. For a number of other such cases see P. Janet: The major symptoms of hysteria, p. 186ff.
148. Error - no note necessary.
149. For an excellent exposition of this as applied to St. Paul's conversion see R. H. Thouless: op. cit. pp. 190-191. In revival cases it must be kept in mind, however, that the actual outbreak is determined by external influences.
150. op. cit. p. 185
151. The Spiritual life, p. 215
152. op. cit. p. 184
153. A. L. Drummond points out this fact when he says: "Examination of phenomena drawn from varied sources leads us to conclude that glossolalia (and cognate prophesying, predicting, etc.) are in no sense uniquely Christian, but are to be found in every age, land, and stage of culture. The great fact of Pentecost, however, has so stamped itself on the Christian consciousness, that in practise such manifestations have followed its example in the great majority of cases that have been properly investigated." op. cit. p. 224 appendix.
154. op. cit. p. 158

155. Ibid: pp. 158-159
156. For example the theory of exalted memory. Cf. A. Wright: Some New Testament problems, Chap. 18, or the theory of inherited memory. Cf. R. Heath: Little prophets of the Cevennes, Contemp. Rev. - Vol. 48 - (1886) - p. 117-131
157. This theory is accepted by both F. M. Davenport and G. B. Cutten.
158. "It is not so certain as is commonly assumed that the account in Acts of the speaking with tongues at Pentecost, in which it is made to appear that men spoke in foreign languages, is shown to be mistaken by St. Paul's report of the phenomenon in the Corinthian Church." W. P. Paterson: The Nature of Religion, p. 179
159. Certain religious groups of lower culture have attempted to use echolia as the means of speaking the gospel to foreigners. "It may be announced at meetings that on the next evening the subject will go into a trance and bring a message in German or Italian. The great difficulty in such instances is that the Germans and Italians present usually cannot understand the 'message'." D. M. Trout: op. cit. pp. 159-160. F. G. Henke: op. cit. cites a somewhat similar case of two illiterate missionary women who went to China under the impression that God would give them the power to speak in the Chinese tongue, an impression which resulted in a near tragedy due to their being stranded in an alien country unable to make their wants known.
160. E. S. Conklin: The psychology of religious adjustment, pp. 224-225
161. Ibid: p. 225
162. In this connection see B. W. Stone: op. cit. p. 40
163. See the Dictionary of psychological medicine, Vol. 1 - p. 436; also H. Ellis: Man and woman, p. 353 - (1904 ed.)
164. R. M'Nemar: op. cit. pp. 62-63
165. See pp. 154-155 of this thesis.
166. op. cit. p. 91 (The italics are mine)
167. M. M. C. p. 140. "Psychologiquement il est constitue par une emotion intense avec perte de la conscience du monde exterieur et amnesie consecutive."
168. In the sense of "penetrating".

169. J. Rogues de Fursac: op. cit. p. 141. "Le hywl est essentiellement contagieux. L'emotion qui passe du pretre au fidele produit chez le fidele un etat de conscience analogue, sinon identique, a celui du predicateur. Les idees passent sur la conscience presque sans l'effleurer, en tout cas sans y laisser aucune trace precise et durable. Mais elles n'en penetrent que plus profondement au fond de l'etre psychique et leur action sur la personnalite en est decuplee. Le sujet ne garde aucune idee claire de ce qu'il a eprouve. Mais il a le sentiment qu'il a passe par un bonheur indefinissable, qu'il a touche a quelque chose d'inexprimable, bien que d'essentiellement reel."
170. For example the one recorded on p. 157 of this thesis.
171. J. Jastrow and A. Meyer: Hysteria, Dict. of Phil. and Psychology, Vol. 1 - pp. 495-496
172. P. P. C. p. 117. In this connection see M. Prince: Clinical and experimental studies in personality, esp. Chap. 7 - "Miss Beauchamp: The theory of the psychogenesis of multiple personality" See also E. E. Mayer: A dissociated personality, with an analysis of its psychological problems, Amer. J. of Insanity - Vol. 76 - (1920) - pp. 465-487
173. p. 158 of this thesis.
174. op. cit. p. 174
175. E. A. Stopford: op. cit.
176. J. Jastrow and A. Meyer: op. cit. p. 495 (The italics are mine)
177. pp. 159-160
178. p. 160 of this thesis.
179. This is borne out by the first underlined section in the quotation from J. Jastrow, cited on page 181 of this thesis.
180. B. S. Gowen: op. cit. p. 52 (The italics are mine)
181. op. cit. p. 49
182. J. Macpherson: Hysteria, E. R. E. - Vol. 7 - pp. 64-65
183. In this connection see J. Macpherson: op. cit. pp. 64-66
184. Cf. S. H. Prince: op. cit. passim.
185. Cf. W. G. Slade: Earthquake psychology, Australasian J. of Psych. and Phil. - Vol. 10 - (1932) - pp. 58-63, passim.

186. op. cit. p. 243

187. Ibid: loc. cit.

188. I have copied F. M. Davenport's original sketch, loc. cit.

189. This sketch is also copied from F. M. Davenport's original, loc. cit.

190. op. cit. pp. 244

191. P. Gardner: The practical basis of Christian belief, p. 50

"The doctrine preached (in revivals) is that which is current in the popular mind, and it is employed as a familiar background without argument or logical presentation. Revival sermons are, therefore, always theologically conservative." - E. S. Ames

CHAPTER IV.

REVIVAL THEOLOGY AND PREACHING

A. Revival theology.

"Sir Leslie Stephen in his 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' says that every revival of religion is characterized by an intellectual reaction."¹ While this statement seems in need of modification, there is sufficient truth in it to cause one to ponder it seriously. The only modification which seems necessary would be to change the word "every" to "most". For one does not long study revivals before discovering that the theology which marks them is distinctly reactionary.² And in keeping with such a theology we find preaching which has as its main purpose, an appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect.

(1) Use of outworn theology.

From the time of Jonathan Edwards to the present there has been a tendency on the part of revivalists to make use of an outworn theology. While the preaching of John Wesley and Dwight L. Moody was in the main of the Evangelical type; most revivalists have based their preaching upon the Puritan type of theology which originated under Calvin at Geneva.³

Jonathan Edwards preached an unmodified Calvinism with hell-fire unadulterated. Even though in later years he "departed somewhat from historic Calvinism, his chief aim was to defend it against the Arminian School."⁴ The Tennents also preached the doctrines of the Genevan. Thus the Calvinistic doctrines "of the partic-

ular election of the redeemed, and the irresistible grace of God, prevailed in Puritan theology, and were accepted by Whitefield and his followers."⁵

John Wesley, on the other hand, was accused of being a Jesuit in disguise because of his advocacy of Arminian principles, which principles the Calvinists were sure led to popery.⁶ And while Wesley in his preaching rejected the dogmatic infallibilities of Calvinism,⁷ he was unable to free his preaching of the possibilities of damnation and resultant eternal punishment in hell fire. While Wesley's preaching was in the main sane, there were those among his followers whose preaching was marked by no such sanity.

Again, James McGready, one of the leaders of the Kentucky revival, although preaching a doctrine of modified Calvinism,⁸ still maintained a note in his preaching which had characterized the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley. He sounded this forth "clear and strong and terrible in fearful denunciation of the wrath of God upon impenitent sinners."⁹ And he was not alone in this, for soon with dire results he found other "mouths" for his message.

When we turn to the work of Asahel Nettleton in America in the early part of the nineteenth century we find a recrudescence of the spirit and method of Jonathan Edwards. "Nettleton enjoyed the vivid religious experience of Edwards, and accepted the Edwardean doctrine as an explanation of his own spiritual struggle and triumph. He was thus naturally led to adopt the Edwardean method of practical effort for the salvation of men."¹⁰ He, therefore, declared the doctrine of election with Edwardean zeal.

"He stood ready to press home the utter vanity of any attempt of man to save his own soul. . . . Fear of hell and a partial conviction of sin were thus deepened into despair and a sense of absolute helplessness. This terrible agony must not be lessened, but increased the rather and allowed to weigh upon the rebellious soul until real conversion come and joy and peace succeed to trouble and distress." (11)

Although the preaching of C. G. Finney was not based upon Calvinism he, nevertheless, in his early ministry made great use of the theory of "everlasting punishment for the wicked" and painted hell in colors vivid and terrible as a place of everlasting punishment.¹² During his ministry a change in his theology took place. "The violent appeals to terror which had been so characteristic of the previous century were losing their power over men, and the spirit of the age began to be reflected in Finney."¹³ But, while in his later ministry he tended to forsake the appeal to crude irrational fear¹⁴, he never ceased to magnify the guilt of the sinner and the awful retribution due to sin.

The "Lay Revival" of 1857 as it found expression in America had very little preaching and hence little stress upon theological doctrine. The pulpit held a subordinate place. It was a revival through prayer rather than through sermons. There was an appeal to man's "need of God, desire after Him, the penetrating sense of sin as separation from Him, and the necessity of moral renewal."¹⁵ Much stress was put upon the love of God, the sufficiency of Christ, and the might of the Holy Spirit.

When the movement was transferred to Ireland and Wales it assumed a different complexion. Although not marked by the violent

pulpit demonstrations of the Kentucky days and the periods of Jonathan Edwards and the Wesleys, the appeal used was that of an out-worn theology. "In many sections, such preaching as there was shocked whole communities into a sense of frightful personal danger, and pictured as faithfully and as vividly as did the old pioneers the fiery hell yawning at the feet of the impenitent."¹⁶ Great stress was laid upon the crushing sense of sin, the awful apprehension of impending doom, the looking forward to judgment, the fierce wrestling with the Evil One who had the power of "casting soul and body into Hell."¹⁷

Although D. L. Moody can well be called "the great apostle of common sense,"¹⁸ he nevertheless made much use of a theology that was out-worn. C. C. Bell declares, of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey: "Their teaching both in sermon and hymn was based upon a crude 'substitutionism,' and represented just that view of the Atonement against which the ordinary man's sense of justice and fair play was beginning to revolt."¹⁹

It is also recorded that D. L. Moody at times lapsed back even to the extent of indulging in preaching which depended for its life upon a theology like unto that of Jonathan Edwards. Daniel Conway tells us that upon one occasion D. L. Moody depicted a lady and her daughter in hell undergoing punishments so foul and frightful - depicted in such gross and vulgar language - that one wonders that any audience could have endured it.²⁰

The Welsh revival of 1904-05 was a revival of prayer rather than of preaching. Although the main stress was placed upon the love of God, there lingered in the mind of Evan Roberts, the

leader, in so far as the revival could be said to have a leader, an incipient Calvinism, which expressed itself in "a swamping of the New Theology."²¹

"Calvinism was very manifest in the Revival in the form of the utter helplessness of a man to save himself or to do anything of and for himself. It was the keynote and the great cry of the period, 'Full Surrender!' 'Yielding' was a word that was constantly on the lips of Evan Roberts; but it was clear that the realm of the will was an unknown as an untrodden realm for him. . . . One of the most deplorable features of the Revival was the ignorance manifested concerning the nature, function and possibilities of the human will. Evan Roberts treated the matter as if it were entirely a question of disposition." (22)

In more recent revivals, such as the mission field revivals in India and Manchuria; and in the work of R. A. Torrey, J. W. Chapman, and W. A. Sunday, etc., the appeal to an outworn theology has been constant. A distinctly Calvinistic theology was expounded in the revivals in India and Manchuria.²³ Great stress was put upon hell fire as God's means of eternal punishment. R. A. Torrey, we are told, preached "the crudest form of the doctrines of substitutionary Atonement and hell."²⁴ Concerning the preaching of Billy Sunday, another writer informs us that "there is nothing novel about Billy Sunday's 'gospel' which is a simple reversion to the 'hard-shell' Calvinistic Puritanism on which older generations of Americans were bred. . . . His creed is that of Jonathan Edwards and the Mathers."²⁵ And as J. B. Pratt has shown,²⁶ the appeal to hell fire is still part of the stock in trade of modern revivalists. Although all do not preach a distinctly Calvinistic theology, they tend to preach one that is out-worn.

(a) Absolutely individualistic appeal.

From this brief study of the theology dominant in various revivals it will be seen that whether the theology be Calvinistic, Arminian, or of some more recent type, revival preaching has failed to meet the needs of each age. Times have changed tremendously. We have an entirely new outlook on Christian life. We have passed into a new world of Christian thought. In spite of all this the appeal of the revivalists has been based upon outworn ideas. The least progressive of these was "a confidence that the kingdom of Christ was to be established through the individual conversion of souls one by one."²⁷ This individualistic plea has been characteristic of most revivals. Thus, as Harry Miller said, "While the people in the Wesleyan revival sang hymns, their fellows were living in squalor in prison."²⁸ This individualistic appeal which reached its high water mark in the work of D. L. Moody²⁹ is still used by those who are his imitators. One must sadly admit that there have been few Amoses among our revival preachers.

(2) Main doctrines of revival theology.

Frequent attempts have been made to describe by a single phrase the leading truth taught in each revival, or at least, that aspect of truth which seemed to most affect the people.³⁰ While in one revival a certain doctrine has been given special stress, and in another there has been the stressing of a different doctrine, certain theological tenets have been common to most revivals. Some of these will now be discussed.

(a) The Bible, and its meaning.

(1) An infallible book of supernatural truth.

All revivalists have been literalists as far as acceptance of the Bible is concerned. To most of them there is only one possible attitude toward the Bible. Either it must be accepted literally, or it must be rejected in its entirety. Therefore those who fail to subscribe to the view of the Bible as an infallible book of supernatural truth are guilty of sin.

Revivalists have had little use for the results of scholarship and usually the findings of the Higher Critics have been anathema. We are told that Moody "would be termed a literalist. He believed the Bible from 'cover to cover'."³¹ Furthermore "it would be wrong to infer that the broadening influences of his life tended to a so-called liberal theology. Moody remained essentially conservative through life."³²

The same was true of the later revivalists who were his imitators. Most of them knew very little of biblical criticism and yet they have been verbose in their discussions on the subject. In a day when most of the great scholars in the churches of Christendom were higher critics R. A. Torrey could night after night denounce it from the pulpit. So one writer reports:

"With Bible Criticism itself I find no evidence of Dr. Torrey's acquaintance. He calls the higher critics bad names, and couples them with infidels, and even calls them infidels, but the type of argument he combats all the time is the Ingersoll and Bradlaugh and Tom Paine type, and not at all the positions of Higher Criticism. Any man who supposes that the bulk of the Higher Criti-

cism could be found in the 'Age of Reason', knows nothing of the Higher Criticism. The latter was as impossible in Paine's day as the telephone." (33)

R. A. Torrey accepted the Bible literally as had many revivalists before him. He declared his position in a speech in Chicago in 1903 saying, "I preach the whole Bible from cover to cover. I accept everything; except nothing."³⁴

Billy Sunday, representative of the newer American school of revivalists, asserts his belief in the Bible as a revelation of supernatural truth. At the National Convention of Evangelists and Christian Workers held at Memphis, Tennessee in December, 1931, he declared: "If the churches would teach the virgin birth, the literal resurrection and the second coming of Christ, the evangelistic (revivalistic) fires would burn once more."³⁵

(2) This attitude results in a clash with scientific and progressive thought.

As a result of the revivalists' acceptance of all parts of the Bible as literally true, we find a clash between the theology which they preach and the view of the world accepted by scientific men. This has in the main centered about the question of creation. While the church as a whole has come to realize, through the teachings of such men as Henry Drummond and John Fiske, that the theory of evolution is not necessarily subversive to religion, the revivalists are compelled by their literal acceptance to preach a doctrine of creation as an arbitrary fiat of God. They still continue to look upon creation as "a product rather than a process."³⁶ Revivalists

still maintain that any theory of evolution strikes at the very foundations of Christian belief.

In the light of these facts it is no wonder that "Mr. Tyn-
dale, and Mr. Huxley and Mr. Herbert Spencer were not much in men's
minds while Mr. Moody was around."³⁷ But while D. L. Moody was com-
pelled to ignore the findings of science, because of his literal ac-
ceptance of the Bible, more recent revivalists have made an issue of
the discrepancies between the two views. This has been especially
true of American revivalists, for until a few years ago evolution
was a burning question in America. We have a recent revivalist at-
tacking those who accept a scientific view of the universe in the
following words: "If any minister believes and teaches evolution he
is a stinking skunk, a fraud, a hypocrite, and a liar."³⁸ If one de-
sired cases could be cited in great number to indicate the use of
the same approach by many revivalists, but this one is sufficient to
indicate a trend.

(b) Man's origin and destiny.

This literal acceptance of the Bible also shapes the think-
ing of revivalists in regard to man and his destiny. Man being a di-
rect descendent of Adam, is born in sin. Unless he can be freed from
that sin he will, after death, be sent to a place of torment and eter-
nal punishment. If freed of that sin he will, after death, ascend to
a heaven of utopian splendor and magnificence. His salvation is to be
accomplished through repentance and acceptance of the free salvation
which Christ has provided through his death on the cross.

- (1) Man is guilty of "original sin" through kinship with Adam.

Thus we find man guilty of "original sin", and a study of theology shows that this was for many centuries a dominant conception in the minds of Christian thinkers. By the means of this doctrine men sought to explain the presence of sin in the world.

"Christian theology taking the third chapter of Genesis as authoritative history, has always held that man was created and began his career with such mental and moral endowments that he could justly be subjected to a decisive test of his virtue; that he had no evil character, and no tendency whatever toward moral evil; that God subjected him to a test by means of a special prohibition; that he was tempted from without, and that he immediately yielded to temptation, transgressed the prohibition, committed an act of sin, and so became a fallen being, and the founder of a corrupted race." (39)

This dogma, formulated by Augustine⁴⁰ has had a long and complicated history.⁴¹ Throughout that long history the main tenets of the dogma have been maintained, namely:

1. "That as a consequence of the primal sin of the first man all human beings inherit sin and the guilt thereof, coming into the world with natures so depraved that nothing good can be done or even willed.
2. This natural sin not only involved guilt but caused the damnation of all persons, even infants dying in the natural or unregenerate state.
3. Even before birth the human being is depraved and merits condemnation.
4. Even after regeneration the individual transmits to his offspring not his regenerate nature but his original depravity." (42)

It must be kept in mind that this dogma of original sin has been a vital doctrine in the development of the church. It was written into the creeds of the Churches.⁴³ Preachers preached it to

their congregations. ⁴⁴ As is shown more fully in a later chapter ⁴⁵
 the doctrine was sung in hymns. It was taught in the homes ⁴⁶ and
 even in the schools. ⁴⁷

(2) Man's need of regeneration to escape hell and gain heaven.

But how is man to escape the consequences of this inherited guilt? His only means of escape is through regeneration, a process by which the elements of original nature are uprooted and transformed. ⁴⁸ According to certain churches this regeneration can be brought about by baptism. The Calvinistic bodies taught that regeneration occurred and salvation was secured by an arbitrary elective decree of a sovereign God, who chose whom he pleased for salvation and left all the others to damnation. The Arminian bodies and those rejecting baptismal regeneration and election relied upon salvation by faith, stressing personal experience and conversion.

"Thus the ground was laid in theory for the cultivation and high evaluation of the emotional cataclysms which have figured so prominently in religious history. They might be escaped in the theory of those Churches teaching baptismal regeneration, but they became necessary or highly desirable in all the others. These others are the so-called evangelical denominations, which have striven definitely for converted memberships and which developed the revival as the agency for securing conversions." (49)

While not all revivalists have been willing to accept the doctrine in its entirety, it must be frankly admitted that this doctrine, in one form or another, "tended to produce and did actually produce religious awakenings of the radical type while discouraging and preventing the more gradual experiences." ⁵⁰ With but few notable

exceptions the preaching of revivalists has had for its dominant note the utter sinfulness of man and his need of regeneration. Unless man is willing to repent, he is destined for hell; if he repents, he is assured of heaven.

Hence the great stress of revivalists has been, and is, upon the sinfulness of the men who come under their preaching. W. L. Northridge maintains: "Evangelistic (revivalistic) preaching has always gone on the assumption of man's sinfulness, and its first concern has been to bring home to him his lost condition, to turn the eyes of a man round upon himself - to convince him of sin."⁵¹ Again, a writer of a most recent book on revivals advises that the first and best step for a worker who is dealing with a penitent to take "is to find out if the seeker is deeply enough convicted of sin."⁵²

Age is no measure of sinfulness for another writer tells us that the sermons in a children's revival meeting "should emphasize the following great and fundamental truth: that all men and all children are sinners, real sinners."⁵³

(a) A chemical hell and a utopian heaven.

As was discussed above the failure to be regenerated is to be punished by consignment to hell; while true regeneration is rewarded by entrance into heaven.

This theme has formed the rallying point of much revival preaching. Hell-fire and damnation have been set forth with great vigor, with their possible alternative of heavenly bliss. Revivalists maintain that the spiritual deadness of the church is explained by

failure to preach concerning hell. J. Caughney, "the eminently successful revivalist,"⁵⁴ as late as the 1840's said: "The real hell, as described in the Scriptures, is not uncovered in all the terrific horrors which belong to it. . . . Hell is not unfolded so as to make the heart and soul of the many sinners in the congregation quake and tremble, before the Lord God of Hosts."⁵⁵

Another eminent revivalist did thus "open the horrors of hell before the eyes of an appalled audience."⁵⁶

"Great God! suspend for a few minutes the small still voice of thy Gospel. For a few minutes, let not this auditory hear the church shouting, 'Grace, grace unto it!'" Let the blessed angels, who assist in our assemblies for a while leave us to attend to the miseries of the damned! I speak literally. I wish these miserable human beings could show you for a moment the weight of their chains, the intensity of their flames, the stench of their smoke. Happy, if, struck with these alarming objects, the sinner may imbibe a holy horror, and henceforth oppose against all temptations, these words, The smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever. In such a manner Cecil preached, when he said, 'Hell is before us; millions of souls are shut up there in everlasting agonies.'" (57)

John Wesley was a great believer in keeping the terrors of Hell as a reality within the purview of the sinner, and in representing it as as terrible a place as possible. This preaching of his aroused a storm of persecution around him. In defense of such preaching he declared: "For, to say the truth, I desire to have both heaven and hell ever in my eye, while I stand on this isthmus of life between these two boundless oceans; and I verily think the daily consideration of both highly becomes all men of reason and religion."⁵⁸

This gospel, so called⁵⁹, continues to be preached. It is

still part of the chief stock in trade of the revivalists. Even today revivalists can seriously suggest that Eternal Punishment be preached, since "the fear of hell is wholesome."⁶⁰

While heaven as pictured by revival preachers has varied from time to time, it has in the main been presented as a place of escape from the trials and tribulations of this world. Their various pictures of heaven cannot be better epitomized than in the following paragraph from the writings of Prof. D. C. Macintosh of Yale University.

"To the Puritans and older evangelicals it (heaven) was a sort of ideal meeting-house or 'protracted meeting' - 'where congregations ne'er break up, and Sabbaths never end.' And to many oppressed and overworked in all ages, 'Heaven' appealed as being that ideal abode 'where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.' And so for many there grew up what G. B. Foster has called 'that words of all dualisms, joyless labor here and laborless joy hereafter.'" (61)

But the revivalists are not disturbed by the presence of dualism. The "heaven of bliss" in contrast to "the hell of punishment" provides to their minds "a balanced doctrine". The heaven advocated by the revivalists has often been adjusted to the needs and conditions of their audiences. While some revival audiences have gladly accepted the Puritan ideal of heaven, others have found more appealing a heaven which provides the promise of freedom from labor.⁶² Recent revivalists have made extensive use of this conception of a laborless heaven, but not always from the best of motives.⁶³

(3) Salvation through the cross.

How then is man to be regenerated so as to escape hell and be a candidate for heaven? According to the revivalists this is made possible through the "divine drama of the blood." Man's salvation has been made possible because Christ atoned for sin. Practically all revivalists have found it necessary to accept and preach a substitutionary theory of atonement. Thus whether it be D. L. Moody preaching "God exacting blood to appease him,"⁶⁴ R. A. Torrey preaching "a Gospel of Salvation through the blood of Christ shed on the Cross for a perishing world,"⁶⁵ or C. G. Finney preaching "the moral government of God,"⁶⁶ the assumption underlying the theory of atonement preached has been that "the 'saving work of Christ' has primary reference to a future life, rather than to the present. What is more it does not immediately undertake to make available the divine power for deliverance from actual sinning, but rather secures a divine judicial pardon by virtue of which the sinner may be assured of escaping all the post-mortem penalties of his transgression."⁶⁷ The revivalists deal with the problem of so interpreting the death of Christ as to account for such a change in God as to provide for the possibility of the sinner's pardon and consequent escape from "hell".⁶⁸

Again the revivalists experience no great difficulty. The "old time religion" which was good enough for father, still is good enough for them. Why bother about a new theory of the atonement when the old one still continues to work well with the people with whom they deal?⁶⁹

(c) The second coming of Christ.

One other doctrine which has received considerable emphasis in various revivals has been the doctrine of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The most outstanding example of this was, of course, in the Millerite revival of 1843. William Miller a New York farmer fixed the date for the second coming as April 23, 1843, and stirred up many followers to dispose of their property and to watch eagerly for the expected appearance. When the day passed uneventfully, they were distressed and some scoffed; but most of them kept their faith, with the result that Adventism was organized into two denominational groups, the Advent Christians and the Seventh Day Adventists.⁷⁰

The doctrine has continued to re-appear perennially in the preaching of revivalists. D. L. Moody's son tells us that it played a prominent part in his father's religious thinking.

"Moody believed in the second coming of Christ. In early years it occupied a prominent place in the themes of his Bible readings. Among the earliest recollections of his children were Moody's visit to Round Top (71); Here he would love to talk about the personal return of his Master and once he exclaimed, 'I would like to be here when the Lord comes.'" (72)

To some revivalists a theory of the immediate second coming of Jesus has been helpful as a means of appeal to those who are oppressed; ground down under the wheels of a mechanical age. Whatever the reason for such an appeal it is still in use in some revival quarters as recourse to any series of revival topics will show. Few revivalists seem to have taken to heart Paul's teachings on the subject.⁷³

B. Revival preaching.

In the first part of this chapter we have been studying the content of the message which the revivalists present to their audience. This second part is a study of the methods used to present that message.

(1) The appeal to instincts, emotions, and sentiments.

An earlier chapter⁷⁴ dealt with the revivalists' use of an appeal to certain instincts, emotions, and sentiments in securing a hearing for their message; and revealed that while some sought to frighten their audiences into acceptance of their doctrine, others sought to woo their listeners. The appeal of many has been very definitely aimed to stir the tender emotions. Some revivalists have effectively made use of an appeal to curiosity and humor. The part played by the hypnotic effect of the revivalist's personality has also been stressed.

(2) Methods of revival preachers.

In bringing to bear the appeals mentioned above revivalists have developed certain methods to make for effectiveness.

(a) Revival preaching adjusted to meet the needs of the audience.

As we read the sermons of revival preachers we are amazed to see how their preaching is adjusted to the needs of the audience. One sees the truth of the statement that "to be a good revivalist one must be a good psychologist." From the time of John Wesley to

the present this method has been much in vogue. S. G. Dimond tells us "Wesley's general practice was to speak strong and stern words in churches where he had wealthy and critical congregations, and to choose Scripture passages of the most tender and affectionate type for exposition to the ignorant and debased crowds in the colliery and industrial areas."⁷⁵ Some of the more recent revivalists have departed from the aims of Wesley, however, and they have adjusted their message to the whims rather than the needs of the audience."⁷⁶

(b) Set speech seldom used.

While it is true that at times some of the earlier revivalists delivered their sermons from manuscript⁷⁷, the set speech has not been used a great deal by revivalists. D. L. Moody we are told:

"In preparation used to note down the main subdivisions of his address, using ordinary note paper. Then he would use some one word or a brief sentence which would call to mind some apt illustration of incident in his experience. The notes he kept in a large envelope; each time the address was given he would write on the envelope, as already described, the date and place where the address was given." (78)

(c) Use of extemporaneous discourse.

Most revivalists have chosen to use extemporaneous discourse. The revivalists realize that the aim of the sermon or address is not to convince the reason by logical arguments. They must meet other needs than that and the use of an extemporaneous address enables them to meet the moods of their audiences. Although revivalists may never have heard of Aristotle's Rhetoric they seek to bring to bear the Means of Persuasion⁷⁹ and this is better done through an

extemporaneous discourse rather than when attention is centered upon a set discourse.

An extemporaneous discourse allows the preacher to place the emphasis upon certain words in such a way as to produce a climax in the emotions of his listeners. C. Chauncey shows ^{how} have the revivalist Davenport influenced his audiences through such methods.

"When the preacher grew calm and moderate in manner, though the things delivered were equally awakening, the young women by degrees grew calm and still. When he again spake like thunder, the like violent strugglings immediately returned upon them. Sometimes he put the emphasis upon little unmeaning words, and delivered a sentence of no importance with mighty energy, yet the sensible effect was as great as when the most awful truth was brought into view." (80)

(d) Simplicity of revival discourses.

Revival discourses are noted for their simplicity. Many of them have been such that apart from the personality of the speaker or the emotional set of the audience they would not gain much of a hearing. Very few of them when put into cold print produce anything but a feeling of decided lack. Even the preaching of D. L. Moody made men at times wonder just why it seemed to appeal. A writer in The Pall Mall Gazette so questioned after a visit to a Moody and Sankey meeting in London.

"'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God,' was the theme upon which Mr. Moody delivered an harangue which puzzled one more than ever. Why five thousand people should come through fog and rain into a bleak and misty hall to listen to such a discourse was inexplicable." (81)

Concerning the discourses of Evan Roberts, V. J. Morgan

tells us: "He was more intuitive than inductive or deductive. His broken sentences had more of the heat of passion than of the dry light of truth. . . . Those who came to hear . . . a sermon were disillusioned. He was not an expositor or even a fluent speaker." 82

(1) Use of affirmation and repetition.

The key to the effectiveness of revival preaching is to be found, I believe, in the revivalists' careful and yet constant use of affirmation and repetition. G. Le Bon shows 83 the power of these two factors in swaying a crowd and revivalists have used them with great effect with revival crowds. An instructor of revivalists stresses the importance of affirmation when he advises such positive revival preaching:

"Revival preaching to be effective must be positive. The doubter never has revivals. . . . A revival is a revolution in many important respects and revolutions are never brought about by timid, fearful or deprecatory addresses. They are awakened by men who are cocksure of their ground, and who speak with authority." (84)

Throughout their preaching the central thoughts are given constant repetition. As in C. H. Spurgeon's sermon quoted by R. H. Thouless 85 there is a constantly recurring motif which makes a great appeal only because the environing conditions make such an appeal acceptable to the feelings and not to the head.

(e) Appeal to the sensational.

Revivalists, ancient and modern, have had a tendency to

be sensational. Among the more recent revivalists this has expressed itself in the use of sensational themes, gymnastics in the pulpit, and other strange devices.⁸⁶ In the earlier revivals it expressed itself in other ways. An example of such methods as recorded by C. Chauncey in the Boston Postboy is illuminating:

"The attempt of the many itinerant preachers and exhorters who were suddenly developed under the stress of the revival (87), was to terrify the imagination and heighten the effect of their speech by the suggestion of the extraordinary things that took place where recently they were, and by affirming that the audience now before them is made up 'of the last hardened wretches that stand out, that this is the last call that ever they are likely to hear, that hell fire now flashes in their faces, that the devil stands ready to seize them - and they will often repeat the awful words, 'damned! damned! damned!' three or four times over." (88)

(1) Censoriousness and villification of those who disagree.

Almost as a corollary of this search for sensationalism is the tendency on the part of many revivalists to censoriousness. From Whitefield to the present revivalists have been quick to use this weapon.

This censoriousness has expressed itself in villification of those who disagree with the beliefs or methods of the revivalists. Thus Harvard College saw fit to brand Whitefield as "an uncharitable, censorious and slanderous man"⁸⁹; Dr. Alexander characterized one of Gilbert Tennent's sermons as "one of the most severely abusive sermons which was ever penned"⁹⁰; and Dr. Washington Gladden has gathered some choice examples from the preaching of some modern revival-

ists.⁹¹ Like many other unwelcome traits censoriousness seems to find a ready soil in much revival preaching.

(f) The lack of the didactic element in revival preaching.

In conclusion it needs to be emphasized that the greatest weakness of revival preaching is the definite absence of any didactic quality. One finds very little of teaching. The fact that the appeal is to the emotions rather than to the intellect accounts for the fact that many revival preachers could not fill a settled pulpit. John Wesley admitted, "I know that were I to preach one whole year in one place I should preach both myself and my congregation asleep."⁹²

Despite the fact that some have denied the need of teaching in revival preaching⁹³ the writer is of the opinion that an appeal to the mind would produce more significant results in the long run than has the appeal to the emotions.

NOTES

Chapter IV.

1. K. C. Anderson: "Revival and Intellectual Reaction" in The true revival versus Torreyism, edited by Rhondda Williams, p. 11
2. H. Bois maintains that this is because revivals appeal to the more retrogressive elements of the population and the revival theology must be adapted to their second rate thinking. Q. R. P. R. p. 140. See also p. 143
3. The writer does not mean to cast aspersions upon this latter theology. It was "seen at its best in Geneva under Calvin, Scotland under Knox, England under Cromwell, and New England down to the time of Jonathan Edwards." W. Horton: A psychological approach to theology, p. 121. The fault lies in trying to apply to new conditions a theology which was developed for earlier conditions.
4. W. W. Sweet: S. R. A. p. 198
5. S. G. Dimond: P. M. R. pp. 238-239
6. W. W. Sweet: op. cit. p. 188
7. Such as: (1) their limitation of the number of those who could be saved, (2) the degree to which salvation was attainable, (3) the necessary inherence of sin in the redeemed, which limited the degree of holiness attainable. Cf. S. G. Dimond: op. cit. pp. 240; 241
8. "He dwelt upon the necessity of the new birth and the importance of knowing the time when and the place where the conversion had occurred." F. M. Davenport: P. T. R. R. p. 67
9. F. M. Davenport: loc. cit.
10. Ibid: p. 180
11. Ibid: p. 181
12. Ibid: p. 201. "Finney's sermon, 'The Wages of Sin is Death,' is terrible to read. When spoken, it must have been dreadful in hypnotic pressure." A. T. Guttery: Christian conversion, p. 263
13. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 202
14. Cf. A. T. Guttery: op. cit. p. 264
15. T. B. Kilpatrick: New Testament evangelism, p. 128

16. F. M. Davenport: op. cit. pp. 90-91
17. Ibid: p. 91
18. G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. p. 183
19. The work of an evangelist, p. 26
20. Idols and Ideals, p. 33. Moody's own son tells us that "early in his (Moody's) public work his emphasis had been upon retribution, a relic of his early Calvinistic views, representing God as a vengeful deity." W. R. Moody: D. L. Moody, p. 438 (The italics are mine)
21. S. B. Shaw: The great revival in Wales, p. 66. Henri Bois says that the orthodoxy characteristic of the Welsh revival was such that not one pastor in a hundred in France or Switzerland would have found it acceptable. ("On n'exagere point lorsqu'on dit qu'en fait de doctrine, les Gallois professent l'ancienne orthodoxie. Oui, et une orthodoxie telle qu'on aurait de la peine a trouver un pasteur sur cent, en France ou en Suisse, qui la professe telle quelle.") op. cit. p. 125
22. V. J. Morgan: W. R. R. p. 86
23. Even a cursory reading of the following books will testify to the truth of this statement: H. S. Dyer: R. I. and J. Webster: The revival in Manchuria.
24. K. C. Anderson: op. cit. p. 12
25. Religious "Boost", Nation (British) - Vol. 18 - (1915) - p. 175
26. R. C. p. 178, Note 1.
27. W. Cross: Our evangelical effort, Christian World Pulpit - Vol. 103 - (1923) - p. 68
28. Christian sociology. (Lectures delivered at New College, Edinburgh - 1930-31)
29. W. Cross says that the proof of the use of this appeal by Moody is sufficiently indicated by the fact that it was Moody's idea that "the social duty of Christian employers to the employed was fulfilled by the endowment and full provision of Y. M. C. A's.," and the further fact that Moody had "hardly any consciousness of Christian responsibility for the social conditions of life that prevailed among the workshops in the slums of our great cities." loc. cit.

30. For example see M. Kaltenbach: Etude psychologique des plus anciens reveils religieux aux Etats-Unis, p. 118. Also J. Strong: The next great awakening, p. 42ff.
31. W. R. Moody: op. cit. p. 438
32. Ibid: p. 446
33. T. R. Williams: op. cit. p. 41
34. Quoted by G. T. B. Davis: Torrey and Alexander, etc. p. 99
35. Reported by J. C. Petrie: Plan revivals to cover the South, Christian Century - Vol. 49 - (1932) - p. 129
36. I am here using, in reverse order, Henry Ward Beecher's famous phrase, quoted by Sweet: op. cit. p. 493
37. From an editorial by J. G. Holland in Scribner's, quoted by W. A. Candler: Great revivals and the great republic, p. 270
38. Quoted by W. Gladden: Samples of modern evangelism, Independent - Vol. 72 - (1912) - p. 1102
39. W. N. Clarke: An outline of Christian theology, p. 240
40. (354-430 A. D.)
41. For this history see P. Schaff: History of the Christian church, Vol. 3 - pp. 781-870
42. E. T. Clark: P. R. A. pp. 70-71
43. For the text of all the creeds see P. Schaff: The creeds of Christendom, passim.
44. For example see the Sermons of Jonathan Edwards and his Treatise on original sin.
45. Chap. 5 - "Revival Music and Hymnology"
46. Thus we have Cotton Mather impressing the doctrine upon his four-year old daughter, the incident being recorded in his Diary. It was also stressed in a tract entitled Persuasives to Early Piety (1831) thus: "The Sinfulness of your nature, my young friend, is not partial, it is not confined to some of your powers or faculties; but, like a mortal poison, spreads through and pollutes the whole. . . . So far are our best actions, in our natural state, from helping us, that even they are polluted and loathsome. Quoted by G. A. Coe: Education in religion and morals, p. 52

47. Thus the young pupil of an early day began his education in the New England Primer with the couplet:
 "In Adam's fall
 We sinned all."
48. For the argument of this section I am indebted to E. T. Clark:
op. cit. p. 71
49. Ibid: p. 73
50. Ibid: loc. cit. The author supports his thesis by the presentation of much contemporary data. See pp. 86-89
51. Recent psychology and evangelistic preaching, p. 44
52. W. A. Tyson: The revival, p. 153
53. R. A. Torrey: How to work for Christ, pp. 309-310
54. I quote from the title page of a book of selections from his sermons.
55. R. W. Allen and D. Wise: Helps to a life of holiness and usefulness, or, revival miscellanies, pp. 203-204
56. Ibid: p. 204
57. Ibid: loc. cit. "And what think ye must have been the sermon, when (this) is but a scrap from the exordium or introduction."
58. Ibid: p. 205
59. "It has always been hard to understand why the Hell fire doctrine which has been preached by Redemptorists and Salvationists (until the spots where it has been shrieked have been called Gospel Halls) could ever have been called a Gospel." G. Heard: Social substance of religion, p. 203
60. W. A. Tyson: op. cit. p. 98. And did not R. A. Torrey say that preachers were afraid to tell the truth that "all who persistently reject Jesus Christ, shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever." He further affirmed that only the doctrine that those "who persist in the rejection of the Son of God, shall endure everlasting anguish, will satisfy the demands of our moral nature - or our moral intuition." A. H. Moncure Sime: "Dr. R. A. Torrey's Idea of Eternal Torment" in T. R. Williams: op. cit. pp. 50-51
61. Theology as an empirical science, p. 210

62. This was an appeal much used in the Ulster Revival of '59 which appealed in the main to poor mill girls to whom freedom from labor - under the industrial conditions of the day - would mean a great deal. The same fact is equally applicable in the main to the audiences which John Wesley addressed.
63. Thus the Rev. Joseph H. McMahon, speaking before the Catholic Library Association in New York could say of the preaching of Rev. William A. Sunday: "There is strong evidence that Sunday deliberately makes himself an instrument of the capitalists for the purpose of keeping working people contented and submissive under injustice. There was never a word of comfort or encouragement for the workman in his struggle for fair treatment." Billy Sunday in Boston, Lit. Digest - Vol. 54 - (1917) - p. 343
64. In this connection see Moncure D. Conway: Idols and ideals, p. 27
65. R. Harkness: With the Torrey-Alexander mission round the world, p. 6
66. C. G. Finney: Memoirs, p. 158ff.
67. D. C. Macintosh: op. cit. pp. 124-125. Dr. Torrey declared as part of his creed: "I believe in the power of the Blood of Jesus Christ. I believe that there is a power in that Blood to atone for the sins of the vilest sinner, and that in a moment, as soon as he accepts Christ, that shed Blood will blot out every sin and make his record as white in God's sight as that of the purest saint in glory." Quoted by G. T. B. Davis: op. cit. pp. 228-229. One sees here a modern reflection of the philosophy of Tetzel whose sale of indulgences precipitated the Reformation.
68. D. C. Macintosh: op. cit. p. 125
69. For a most worth-while and reasonable theory of the atonement see D. C. Macintosh: The reasonableness of Christianity, pp. 149-160
70. H. K. Rowe: History of the Christian people, pp. 181-182
71. A large hill near his home in Northfield, Mass.
72. W. R. Moody: op. cit. p. 446
73. II Thessalonians, passim.
74. Chap. 2 - "Revivals and Crowd Psychology"
75. op. cit. p. 115

76. We have an excellent example of this in the following taken from the report of a sermon by a prominent American revivalist. He first "produced a sympathetic response from his audience by flattery. He referred longingly to the family 'trundle bed' and his 'poor old mother.' He remarked that he was born and raised in the best agricultural state in the Union, Iowa. But soon he had moved to the best all-around state in the good old U. S. A., Oregon, and to the best section of that State, Hood River. There was hearty applause from Iowa people, from Oregonians - especially those from Hood River, and from a considerable body of the other loyal citizens of the country generally."

.
 "He pleased the audience in his discussion of evolution. He did not believe that his ancestors were once ugly, hairy monkeys with long tails. To disprove the dogma of evolution he declared that because 'both a cow and a cocoanut give milk, it does not follow that they descended from a milk-weed.' The audience laughed in hearty sympathy with his logic."

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 "In general he appealed blatantly to sentiments of love, hatred, sympathy, and disgust. His entire sermon was just that curious mixture of the sublime and the ridiculous which is so dear to the hearts of American audiences." K. Young: Social psychology, pp. 516-517

77. S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 116, reports that John Wesley at times made use of written sermons. The same was true of Jonathan Edwards.
78. W. R. Moody: op. cit. p. 435. D. L. Moody did not hesitate to use the same sermon over and over again, preaching some as many as ninety-five times.
79. "Of the means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself there are three kinds. The first kind reside in the character (ethos) of the speaker; the second consist in producing a certain (the right) attitude in the hearer; the third appertain to the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates." Book 1 - Section 2 - L. Cooper: The rhetoric of Aristotle, p. 8
80. Seasonable Thoughts, etc. p. 94
81. Messrs. Moody and Sankey at Islington, Pall Mall Gazette - Vol. 37 - (Nov. 8, 1883) - No. 5828 - p. 12.
82. op. cit. p. 55
83. The crowd, pp. 126-127
84. R. A. Torrey: How to promote and conduct a successful revival, p. 32.

85. I. P. R. pp. 150-151
86. These will be discussed in detail in Chap. 7 of this thesis -
"Modern Revivalism"
87. The Great Awakening.
88. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: P. T. R. R. pp. 124-125
89. Ibid: p. 127. "Chauncey declares that the consorious spirit which developed to such a hateful extent in Davenport (the revivalist) and the other extremists appeared first in Whitefield, who seldom delivered a sermon 'but he had something or other in it against unconverted ministers, and he expressed his fears in his journal of New England that many, nay the most that preached, did not experimentally know Christ.'" C. Chauncey: op. cit. p. 140
90. L. W. Bacon: A history of American Christianity, p. 167. This was the famous (or infamous) "Nottingham Sermon" which made impossible further fellowship between the "Old Side" and "New Side" parties in the Presbyterian synod meeting in Philadelphia in 1740. Tennent, one of the "hot gospellers" of the revival had written it as a violent invective on "The Danger of an Unconverted ministry."
91. W. Gladden: op. cit. pp. 1101-1103. Many examples have already been given in other places in this thesis. However, one of the milder statements reads: "I want to say to you that there is a dirty spot in every preacher and layman who fights the great evangelistic (revivalistic) movements." p. 1102
92. A. J. Mason: The ministry of conversion, p. 148
93. Thus W. T. Stead said in an interview: "Do you think that teaching is what people want in a Revival? . . . They all know the essential truths. They know that they are not living as they ought to live, and no amount of teaching will add anything to that conviction." The revival in the West, pp. 25-26

"Public worship is, inevitably, less the expression of the congregation's actual emotions than the proleptic expression of their ideal emotions - of the feelings they ought to have, the love and adoration which they would fain achieve. The hymns, psalms, etc., used, therefore, should be chosen with the possibility in mind of raising to their own spiritual level the feelings of those who sing them." - O. Hardman.

CHAPTER V.

REVIVAL MUSIC AND HYMNOLOGY

A. The place of hymns in revivals.

One cannot delve very deeply into revival literature without coming to realize the tremendous part played by hymns and music in the propagation and conduct of revivals. The statement of Martin Conway that "there has never been a great revival without music" seems indisputable to one who has made a serious study of these movements. Religious revivalists long ago realized the value of music as an aid to their propaganda. Practically all revivals have given rise to an outburst of song. From the songs of St. Francis, (Joculator Domini) the troubadour of God, to Homer Rodeheaver, the composer of many hymns used by Billy Sunday in his campaigns, is a long step, and many would hasten to remark - a backward step. Nevertheless, through all the intervening revivals has run the scarlet thread of music with its appeals to the emotions of men.

From the foregoing paragraph it is easily seen that revival music and hymnology cannot be discussed as though it were all alike. T. M. Lindsay tells us that not all of the hymns of the early revivals were of a high quality.

"The hymn-writer of the Franciscan revival was Giacomoni da Todi, who was as voluminous as Charles Wesley. Some of his hymns are among the most beautiful examples of Christian song that the Middle Ages produced; and others with their chorus, 'Viva Viva Gesu' (Hurrah! Hurrah! for Jesus), remind us of the religious ditties of the Salvation Army. Most of them were set to the rude popular tunes known to the peasants, and were sung everywhere throughout the Franciscan revival." (1)

To compare the hymnology of the Wesleyan revival as it found expression in the hymns of Charles Wesley and Isaac Watts with the type of gospel hymn so characteristic of certain American revivals would be absolute folly. However, there are points of likeness for not all the hymns of the Wesleyan period were of high standard. Even Watts published such lines as:

"Tame heifers here their thirst allay;
And for the stream wild asses bray!"(2)

The seive of time has sifted out the dross of these hymn-writers, so that those of their hymns still in use are ones worthy of preservation. The "tens of thousands of dull, weak, banal, mechanical, and even vulgar hymns are forgotten."₃ But even at their worst they were far better than "the mass of 'gospel' hymns which has swept through American churches and well-nigh ruined the sense of song."₄

Just as the older revivals were in the main more spontaneous, more the expression of the religious needs of the people, and not "manufactured" as have been the more recent revivals, so the hymnology was more spontaneous, more the expression of religious faith and yearning, and less the result of deliberate manufacture in order to create a commercial need.

(1) The hymnology of various revivals.

(a) The Methodist revival.

At the end of the seventeenth century the Psalmody of the English churches had fallen into a low estate. Its spiritual indif-

ference, and the shocking dilapidation of its music fairly cried out for a change.⁵ It seemed as though the fair genius of sacred song had abandoned the church. The psalmody had "declined into the most contracted and unemotional routine that can be found in the history of religious song."⁶ Still the church leaders insisted that only "inspired words" should be used in singing.

In 1707, Isaac Watts attempted to combat this attitude by publishing an Essay Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody, in which he proposed a new "System of Praise" which would include psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. This essay and his hymn book which followed had the effect of replacing psalm-singing by hymn-singing.

"He offered his system of praise to the churches as a substitute for all that they had been accustomed to sing; and as such it came to be received in its full scope and entirety by vast numbers of people to whom the old psalmody, . . . became as though it had never been." (7)

With the coming of the Wesleyan Movement and the hymns of the Wesleys the work of Watts was reinforced. When the work of Whitefield and the Wesleys began, hymns, heartily sung by the whole congregation, were unknown as an element in public worship. One reason for this was the practice of "lining out".⁸ Hence "the sweet and fervent lyrics of Charles and John Wesley struck a staggering blow at the prestige of the 'inspired' psalmody."⁹

One thing is especially to be noted concerning the hymnody of the Methodist revival, at least of the hymnology of the Wesleys

which furnished the bulk of it. John Wesley while making every effort to bring new hymns and tunes within the means of the poor, also took great pains "that the music should be of high quality, and that nothing vulgar or sensational should obtain currency."¹⁰ This is evidenced in the preface which John Wesley wrote for the final Methodist Hymn Book of 1780, the largest collection he made of his brother's hymns.

"May I be permitted," he wrote, "to add a few words with regard to the poetry? Then I will speak to those who are judges thereof, with all freedom and unreserve. To these I may say, without offense. (1) In these Hymns there is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. (2) Here is nothing turgid or bombast, on the one hand nor low and creeping on the other."
(11)

In like manner in all his published directions concerning congregational singing, Wesley stressed accuracy in notes and time, heartiness, moderation, spirituality, with the aim of pleasing God rather than self.¹²

In the singing of the early Methodists a great range of religious experience was covered. As S. G. Dimond states, "the emphasis on joy and praise, the elements of elation and self-expansion in Wesley's hymns have not received full recognition."¹³ A study of the topics dealt with in any collection of Wesley's hymns¹⁴ shows their catholicity. The movement was fortunate to have such a hymnody, especially in view of the fact that it had no fixed creed, but was rather a movement which regarded Christian experience and conduct as the main tests of membership. "The hymns of the Wesleys supplied the

denomination with something like a platform and were a great factor in indoctrinating the masses in the evangelical principles for which it stood."¹⁵ In the light of these facts it is little wonder that the Methodist hymnal has been described as "a poetic confession of faith."

(b) The Great Awakening in New England.

For a great many years previous to the Great Awakening the churches of New England were dependent upon The Bay Psalm Book (first published in 1640) for their musical worship material. This book had grown out of the Puritan demand for greater literalness than was provided by either the English or Scottish Psalters.

Just as in England before the Wesleyan revival congregational singing had declined, so we find the same condition present in New England. In some sections there had been such a "total neglect of music as to compel the suspension of all singing in some congregations."¹⁶ In most congregations there was a lack of music books. This coupled with the fact that very few people could sing by note, resulted in the use of a few familiar tunes sung from memory. These tunes were tortured and twisted about as unskilful throats saw fit until it sounded like "five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time."¹⁷

With the coming of the Great Awakening there arose, especially on the part of congregations deeply moved by the revival, a desire for a hymnology more in keeping with the evangelical fervor which the preaching aroused. The coming of George Whitefield in 1739

provided the material for the new hymnology. Contrary to what one would expect, he favored the hymns of Isaac Watts rather than those of the Wesleys.¹⁸ He it was who really introduced the "Era of Watts" in American hymnody.¹⁹

Thus we find that Jonathan Edwards returning to Northampton from a journey, found that his congregation in his absence had begun to sing Isaac Watt's Hymns; "sang nothing else, and neglected the Psalms wholly." He did not seem to mind their singing the newer hymns but was somewhat distressed that they should put the Psalms entirely aside. One feels some sympathy with the people, however, upon discovering the type of hymn characteristic of the Bay Psalm Book. The following from the Song of Deborah and Barak is a fair example.

"Out of a window Sisera
 his mother looked, and said
 The lattess thro' in coming why
 so long his chariot staid?
 His chariot wheels why tarry they?
 her wise dames answered
 Yea, she turned answer to herself
 and what have they not sped?
 The prey by poll: a maid or twain
 What parted have not they?
 Have they not parted, Sisera,
 A party-colored prey,
 A party-colored neildwork pray
 Of niildwork on each side
 That's party-colored meet for necks
 Of them that spoil divide." (20)

In conclusion, although the statement of E. S. Lorenz that "Edwards found the psalm versions unfitted for the great revival and introduced the livelier hymns of Isaac Watts"²¹ needs to be modified

to the statement that the revival created a demand for such hymns as the Watt's hymnal provided, one can readily see that such hymns played a great part in fostering and nurturing the Great Awakening in New England.

(c) The Kentucky revival.

Although the Kentucky revival, which began in Logan County, Kentucky, came into being under the preaching of a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. James McGready, it was not long until the Methodists who had been welcomed as assistants in the meetings became leaders. According to Robert Davidson, a Presbyterian historian, the Methodists gained their predominance because of their hymnody and their ability as hymn-singers.

"They succeeded in introducing their own stirring hymns, familiarly, though incorrectly, entitled 'Wesley's Hymns'; This will be acknowledged to have been of itself a potent engine to give predominance to the Methodists, and to disseminate their peculiar sentiments." (22)

However, as the revival developed, and enthusiasm rose to the height of a tumult, the standard hymns were soon discovered to be too sober to express the feelings of the participants. Spontaneous song became characteristic of the meetings.²³

"Rough and irregular couplets or stanzas were concocted out of Scripture phrases and every-day speech, with a liberal interspersing of Hallelujahs and refrains. Such ejaculatory hymns were frequently started by an excited auditor during the preaching, and taken up by the throng, until the meeting dissolved into a 'singing ecstasy'. . . . Sometimes they were given forth by a preacher, who had a sense of rhythm, under the excitement of his preaching and the agitation of his audience." (24)

In addition, hymns were deliberately composed out of the meeting, and taught to the people, or lined out from the pulpit.

It was natural that the tune resources of such a revival should be limited and we find that many of the hymns were adapted to the popular secular melodies then current, to ballads which had been learned in other days and been kept alive in the memory, or to tunes used on the circuit. In some cases the tunes like the words were composed on the spot.

Naturally, these hymns were not written down in the meetings nor printed in song books, although many found their way into the hymn books printed later in the nineteenth century. According to L. F. Benson²⁵ the hymnody of the Kentucky revival, so far as it is preserved is to be found in The Pilgrim Songster; or a choice collection of spiritual songs: with many songs never before in print, By Thomas S. Hinds. It was published in 1810, and of its 120 hymns, the authorship of nearly one half was even then unknown to the compiler. Nearly one-third of them were written by two members of the Western Methodist Conference, John A. Granada and Caleb Jarvis Taylor.

(d) The work of A. Nettleton and C. G. Finney.

When A. Nettleton first began his revival labors in New England he used Watt's Psalms and hymns and seems to have found them very satisfactory. Soon, however, he felt their deficiency, and after several unsuccessful attempts to get church bodies to bring out a new hymnal, he finally published one of his own in 1824. This was entitled Village Hymns.²⁶ The general good sense which he had demon-

strated in his revivals in guarding against unnecessary emotionalism found expression also in his hymnal. "Nettleton knew a good hymn when he saw it, and produced the brightest evangelical hymn book yet made in America. Revival hymns he eschewed as at best ephemeral and 'unfit for the ordinary purposes of devotion - as prescriptions, salutary in sickness, are laid aside on the restoration of health'." ²⁷

When C. G. Finney began his revival campaign in New York he "found Watts and the tunes used with his hymns too dull and Joshua Leavitt issued for him his 'Christian Lyre'." ²⁸ J. Leavitt had been a minister in Connecticut, but had in the spring of 1830 established a weekly, The Evangelist, by the means of which he sought "to promote revivals of religion." In the fall of 1830, in the number for October 2nd., he began to print specimen hymns and tunes of a revival hymnbook to be issued in monthly parts. ²⁹ In 1831 this began to appear. The tunes "were designedly the feature of the Christian Lyre, printed as they were in the book itself on the page opposite the words of corresponding hymns." ³⁰

J. Leavitt thought that A. Nettleton had supplied "in a good degree" the church need, and so he aimed to supply the revival need with hymns which were lighter and more songlike; hymns with rippling rhythms and "choruses". However, he did not escape the censure of some of the writers of his day. In denouncing his work, two of them declared:

"In these enlightened days of reform the public is called upon to recognize in the current love songs, the vulgar melodies of the street, of the midnight reveller, of the

circus and the ballroom, the very strains which of all others, we are told, are the best adapted to call forth pure and holy emotions in special seasons of revival!" (31)

(e) The "Lay" revival.

In the Lay revival in America the great agency for the movement was the "Union Prayer Meetings" in large cities. These prayer meetings developed spontaneity and brevity in the use of hymns. In 1858 the Sunday School Union published Union Prayer Meeting Hymns which provided a hymnody for the revival as far as it could be said to have one. The hymns in this book were, however, mainly the familiar hymns of the Church.

When the revival spread to Ireland it seems not to have developed a hymnody. In most cases use was made of the familiar hymns of the Church. In addition hymns of some of the earlier Welsh revival were revived and certain of the American hymns were imported. The hymn of the revival was "Glorious News". This was sung far and wide and became the battle cry of the movement. Two verses from it are sufficient to show its general character.

"Whene'er we meet, you always say
What's the news? What's the news?
Pray, what's the order of the day?
What's the news? What's the news?
Oh, I have got good news to tell -
My Saviour has done all things well,
And triumph'd over death and hell -
That's the news! that's the news!"

.
"And then, if any one should say
What's the news? What's the news?
Oh, tell them you've begun to pray -
That's the news! that's the news!
That you have join'd the conquering band,
And now with joy, at God's command,

You're marching to the better land -
That's the news! that's the news!"(32)

(f) The work of D. L. Moody.

While the work of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey did not bring the "Gospel Hymn" into being, it did bring an older movement to the culmination and great popular success.³³ The gospel hymn was in reality the outgrowth of revivalistic and camp-meeting songs of the early nineteen hundreds. It had in the meantime been modified by certain Sunday School melodies introduced by William B. Bradbury and others.

In the early seventies D. L. Moody, then the leader of the Chicago, Y. M. C. A., compiled The North-Western Hymn Book which made great use of the stirring Sunday School hymns of the Bradbury type. About the same time the American revivalist Philip Phillips had just completed a campaign in Britain during which he had made familiar his method of "singing the gospel".

In the light of these facts it was natural that D. L. Moody, who according to L. F. Benson³⁴, could not tell one tune from another, should select the type of songs which he had observed made an emotional appeal to the masses. Hence at the beginning of their campaign the book adopted for their meetings was Hallowed Songs, one of Phillips' song books.³⁵ As the campaign progressed and tunes were constantly developed, and these became the nucleus of the "Moody and Sankey Hymn Book". Finally, along with P. P. Bliss, I. D. Sankey embodied them in a book entitled Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs.³⁶ Dur-

ing the early days of the campaign cheap editions with words only were printed in abundance and furnished the fodder for the increasing flame of revivalism.

Their popularity was largely due to a fresh appeal to the emotions. Also they "were 'easy', and 'catchy' and sentimental, swaying with soft or martial rhythm and culminating in the taking 'refrain'; calling for no musical knowledge to understand and no skill to render them." 37

"The Gospel Hymn may be said to have carried the more emotional and less cultivated element of religious people off its feet, and to have furnished for a time the familiar songs of vast numbers hitherto unacquainted with hymns and unused to public worship. The new melodies penetrated even the music halls and were whistled by the man on the street. Some of the new hymns became household words." (38)

The popular success of these hymns was distinctive. L. F. Benson declares that they presented "a new phase of hymn singing as notable in its way as the eighteenth century outburst of Methodist Song." 39

(g) The recent Welsh revival.

During the Welsh revival of 1904-05 the hymns used were the standard ones of the church, some of the gospel hymns of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey and their successors, and certain hymns which grew out of the revival.

"Many tones of the great awakening of 1859 were heard again in 1904-05, A New England Christian would have felt at home, with the tuneful assemblies at Laughor, Trencyon, Bangor, Bethesda, Wrexham, Cardiff, singing

Lowell Mason's 'Meribah' or the clarion melody of Edson's 'Lenox'

In short, the flood tide of 1904-1905 brought in very little new music and very few new hymns. . . . The most cherished and oftenest chosen hymns were those of William Williams and Ann Griffiths, of Charles Wesley, of Isaac Watts." (40)

Like the Irish '59 revival the Welsh revival had its favorite hymns. The two most important seem to have been "Dyma Gardiad"⁴¹, according to Mrs. Penn-Lewis⁴², "the love song of the revival, and the "Diolch Iddo" which J. Rogues de Fursac describes⁴³ as the great revival song of confession.

Another hymn much used was "Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah". This was first written in Welsh and was the product of William Williams, the chief hymn writer of the Calvinistic Methodist movement. A hymn written by Thomas Lewis, a blacksmith of Talley, Carmarthenshire, was also used. Although almost a century old it made a great appeal. Note this verse:

"Recalling the sweat as of blood,
His moanings at midnight outpoured;
His back with deep furrowing ploughed,
His grief from His Father's own sword;
His going to Calvary's hill,
To be nailed to the Cross by His love -
Recalling, what tongue can be still?
What heart but pity shall move?" (44)

While in the early part of the revival the singing was almost exclusively in Welsh, as the movement progressed and more people were interested who did not speak Welsh, it was necessary to introduce hymns in English. Hymns were needed with more emotional appeal

that was provided by the hymnody of the church. Hence there were brought in the hymns of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey and their successors.

Another popular hymn of the revival was "For you I am praying." J. Rogues de Fursac tells that this hymn was sung in the meetings alternately in English and Welsh.⁴⁵

V. J. Morgan's contention that he was able to discover the characteristics of the revival through a study of the hymnody of the movement seems justified.⁴⁶

(h) Recent American revivals.

In the more recent American revivals the hymns of E. O. Excell and Homer Rodeheaver have played a very important role. According to E. H. Lorenz⁴⁷, these hymns were the stirring force in the work of J. W. Chapman and R. A. Torrey. It was, however, in the revivals under William A. Sunday, for whom Rodeheaver was song leader that this type of hymn exerted its greatest influence. Before the revivals of D. L. Moody the church had largely "turned away from the emotional side of religious experience toward social and ethical aspects of religion."⁴⁸ "With attractive power quite equal to Moody's, though with some devices Moody would have declined, Sunday gained a wide hearing for Whitefield's gospel of the XVIIIth century Great Awakening, even repeating Gilbert Tennent's fierce indictment of the churches."⁴⁹

Although Sunday did not depend so much upon the fervor of popular song as had D. L. Moody, nevertheless he found a Sankey in

the person of Homer Rodeheaver and used singing to a great extent. Although H. Rodeheaver's Great Revival Hymns. No. 2 (Chicago, 1910) and subsequent publications may not be the equal of the books of I. D. Sankey, nevertheless, they have played a part in molding the singing in many American churches.

The production of similar books has become a commercial proposition. Each revivalist has found it necessary to have a collection of his own, and few of them have had the spiritual motive of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey, whose royalties on their song books were turned back into the work.

"Each of the evangelists (revivalists) who followed Moody felt that he too must have his personal song book. He could not reprint the copyrighted Gospel Hymns, but must look for writers and composers who could imitate their methods and reproduce their reactions. When the new men failed to please the new public, it became necessary to resort to more sensational and vulgar musical effects to arouse an unresponsive audience. And lately it has seemed expedient to the great and profitable trade which has developed in purveying this material, to descend to the level of current popular song, which has never been so decadent as now, and to imitate quite frankly the music of the dance hall and the cabaret, the jingle, the rag-time, the one-step, the uproarious chorus." (50)

Under the impetus of some of the more recent revivalists, collections of gospel hymns which are decidedly detrimental rather than of value have been produced. Some of the more recent compilers have much to answer for. ⁵¹

B. Types of hymns.

While some indication has been given in the preceding brief survey of the type of hymns used in various revivals, it will

be well to make a more thorough study of specific hymns.

(1) As to words.

(a) Theology.

While the theology of revivals as reflected in revival preaching was considered in detail in another chapter⁵², it is important at this point to make some study of the theology which has found expression in revival hymns.

In the Wesleyan revival, hymns were written by Charles Wesley to accord with the theological beliefs of his brother, John. Thus we find that when John took a definite stand against the doctrine of Election by publishing a sermon on Free Grace in the fall of 1739, there was appended a long hymn on "Universal Redemption".⁵³ Shortly afterwards the Wesleys printed a tractate of hymns directed against those who held Calvinistic views. "The hymns mingled most tender appeals with scathing satire of the doctrines of the opposition, and described as 'hellish' and 'satanic', and presented with little fairness."⁵⁴

Similar instances could be quoted from the hymnologies of other revivals⁵⁵, but it is my purpose instead to study more specific doctrines which have received emphasis at various times.

(1) The doctrine of assurance.

This doctrine found special emphasis in the hymnology of the Methodist revival as one would naturally expect. All the distinctive features of Methodist thought and teaching had their roots in a characteristic experience.⁵⁶ The genius of Charles Wesley was

such as to enable others to vicariously experience that which had meant so much in his own religious experience and that of his brother John. "The special form of the appeal to experience which is the fundamental contribution of Methodism to the thought of the Church is the doctrine of Assurance." ⁵⁷ So it was that ignorant and vicious men were converted and could sing:

"My God, I am Thine,
What a comfort divine,
What a blessing to know that my Jesus is mine." (58)

In like manner the philosophy of assurance as developed in Methodism found expression in such verses as:

"We know by faith, we surely know,
The Son of God is come;
Is manifested here below,
And makes our hearts His home;
To us He hath, in special love,
An understanding given,
To recognize Him from above,
The Lord of earth and heaven." (59)

(2) The doctrine of original sin.

The doctrine of original sin which so long dominated the religious thinking of the church found expression in much of the hymnology of the earlier revivals. Isaac Watts put this doctrine into metrical form:

"Lord, we are vile, conceived in sin,
And born unholy and unclean;
Sprung from the man whose guilty fall
Corrupts his race, and taints us all.

Soon as we draw our infant breath
 The seeds of sin grow up for death;
 The law demands a perfect heart,
 But we're defiled in every part." (60)

A great many other hymns could be quoted showing the use of this doctrine for the purposes of the revivalists.

(3) Hell and damnation.

This theme, a natural corollary of the preceding doctrine, was especially prominent in the hymns of the earlier revivals, and has not as yet entirely disappeared. That the "fire and brimstone" preaching of Jonathan Edwards should be accompanied by a like hymnology, is not surprising. F. M. Davenport says, "Nowhere that I know of do we find such frightfully vivid images of sin and hell and the wrath of God as existed in the mind of Puritan minister and layman and found expression in the Puritan hymn."⁶¹

The people had been nurtured in the veritable atmosphere of a "chemical hell". James R. Lowell tells us that Michael Wigglesworth's Day of Doom was the solace of every New England fireside, "the flicker of pine knots by which it was coned perhaps adding a lively relish to its premonitions of eternal combustion." What an image it presents of the promised eternal punishment!

"For day and night in their despite,
 Their torment's smoke ascendeth.
 Their pain and grief have no relief,
 Their anguish never endeth." (62)

Little wonder, then, that the emotion of the revival should find expression in such verses as:

"My thoughts on awful subjects roll,
 Damnation and the dead.
 What horrors seize the guilty soul
 Upon a dying bed!" (63)

Like sentiments crept even into the school books. The New England Primer contains a hymn which to a child brought up in the theology of the day, would prove morbid to say the least:

"I in the Burying Place may see
 Graves shorter there than I;
 From Death's Arrest no Age is free
 Young Children too may die."

Hymns on the theme of "Hell and Damnation" were not limited to New England theology. Many on this theme are to be found in the collections of hymns used in the Kentucky revivals and the later camp-meetings. Nor were they limited to one side of the Atlantic. Many such were used in the earlier revivals in Great Britain. Mrs. M. G. L. Duncan quotes the following, "A Warning to Careless Sinners" which was very popular during the Welsh revival of 1813.

"Oh, ye careless ones, consider
 What of the night!
 Dreadful gloom awaits the sinner;
 How long the night!
 All your joy will turn to mourning,
 And your mirth to bitter wailing;
 In Hell-fire there is no resting
 All through the night." (64)

(4) Final judgment.

Closely akin to the type of hymns just mentioned are those dealing with the final judgment. Although as a general rule of a de-

cidedly milder type they nevertheless brought to the sinners a vision of the "Last Day", and many times proved very effective in filling the "mourner's bench". One such hymn used in the early American camp meetings was entitled "The Chariot".⁶⁵

"The Chariot! the Chariot! its wheels roll in fire
 When the Lord cometh down in the pomp of His ire,
 Lo, self-moving, it drives on its pathway of cloud,
 And the heavens with the burden of Godhead are bowed.

 The Judgment! the Judgment! the thrones are all set,
 Where the Lamb and the white-vested elders are met;
 There all flesh is at once in the sight of the Lord,
 And the doom of eternity hangs on his word." (66)

The same theme occurs over and over again in the hymnologies of revivals. One finds it appearing many times in the hymnals of D. L. Moody and I. D. Sankey. In the last verse of a hymn concerning the handwriting on the wall at Belshazzar's feast we read:

"So our deeds are recorded -
 There's a hand that's writing now:
 Sinner, give your heart to Jesus, -
 To his royal mandate bow;
 For the day is approaching -
 It must come to one and all,
 When the sinner's condemnation
 Will be written on the wall." (67)

In some of the revivals in the latter half of the last century, the fear of rejection at the Last Judgment was made to replace the fear of hell fire so prominent in the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. Cal Ogburn quotes a hymn of one of the Iowa pioneer revivals which carried such a message:

"See the eternal Judge descending -
 View him seated on his throne!
 Now, poor sinner, now lamenting,
 Stand and hear thy awful doom -
 Trumpets call thee;
 Stand and hear thy awful doom.

 Now despisers, look and wonder;
 Hope and sinners here must part,
 Louder than a peal of thunder,
 Hear the dreadful sound, 'Depart!'
 Lost Forever,
 Hear the dreadful sound, 'Depart!'" (68)

(5) Other-worldliness.

In more recent revivals great stress has been put in hymns upon the "sweet by and by" to the detriment of the practical challenge of "right here and now." We find numberless hymns that stress this urge on the part of individuals for a Utopia. A perfect example of this type of hymn is "When For Eternal Worlds I Steer", written by Elder Jabez Swan who was born in New England in 1800.

"When for eternal worlds I steer,
 And seas are calm and skies are clear,
 And faith in lively exercise,
 And distant hills of Canaan rise,
 My soul for joy then claps her wings,
 And loud her lovely sonnet sings,
 'Vain world, adieu!'

With cheerful hope her eyes explore
 Each landmark on the distant shore,
 The trees of life, the pastures green,
 The golden streets, the crystal stream,
 Again for joy, she claps her wings,
 And loud her lovely sonnet sings,
 'Vain world, adieu!'" (68-a)

The same sentiment runs through Mrs. Standley Dana's hymn, "I'm a Pilgrim, and I'm a Stranger", a hymn which Thomas Brown says

"is likely to live, at least in collections that print revival hymns." ⁶⁹ Witness the sentiment of the last verse, as a perfect example of other-worldliness:

"Of that city, to which I journey,
My Redeemer, my Redeemer is the light!
There is no sorrow, nor any sighing,
Nor any tears there, nor any dying.

I'm a pilgrim, and I'm a stranger;
I can tarry, I can tarry but a night!(70)

(b) Appeal.

The preceding study leads quite naturally to a consideration of the appeal of revival hymns. The psychoanalytic school has recently made some studies of hymns with a view to understanding personality, for it is now recognized that hymns are expressions of the inner emotional and thought life of the individual.⁷¹ Not only so, but the singing of hymns, and the participation in other types of religious ceremonies, afford means whereby an individual can take up much emotional slack which otherwise might find its outlet in anti-social conduct or even in neurosis.⁷² Thus Kimball Young says:

"Religious rituals and ceremonies function to give an outlet for many of these crude and selfish impulses upon a rather socially acceptable level and thus feed the individual with a substitute experience which removes the emotional surcharge that might otherwise damage his social responses to his fellows. And certainly in Christian communities, as elsewhere, song has played an important part in religious ceremonialism." (73)

In defense of his contention K. Young made a study of two

thousand nine hundred and twenty-two hymns to discover their dominant appeals. His study is especially interesting to us due to the fact that the books which he used, with the exception of Wesley's Hymns, were decidedly of the revivalistic "Gospel Hymn" type.⁷⁴

(1) Infantile return

K. Young found that the dominant appeal of thirty-three percent of the hymns studied was that of infantile return. By infantile return is meant the belief in return to God, the Father, in the nature of the childhood fantasy. As K. Young points out, this feature of religious experience has been exposed by Sigmund Freud, E. D. Martin, and others.⁷⁵

As an excellent example of this appeal in a revival hymn we may take the chorus of one, "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms", which has been a great favorite in many meetings.

"Leaning on the everlasting arms,
Leaning, leaning,
Safe and secure from all alarms;
Leaning, Leaning,
Leaning on the everlasting arms." (76)

E. S. Conklin seems to feel that such hymns may prove of value "not only as aids in the solution of conflicts and in the formation of habits, but also in the keeping of habit patterns alive and active."⁷⁷ It seems to the writer that this is taking too much for granted. The real difficulty is that the individual may substitute his feeling of oneness with the projected father image in God to the exclusion of the ethical needs of righteous relations with

people round about. Thus K. Young says:

"One reason why the moral teachings of Christ are so often more honored in the breach than in the observance lies in the fact that the conflict around the father-child disagreements may be so easily removed by ritualistic song, prayer, and other stereotyped actions rather than by genuinely healing the conflict by appeal to social reality."
(78)

This is a danger everpresent in revivals. Evangelists have long recognized the danger of the arousal of emotion without the real opportunity for that emotion to work itself out in service. A great many revival participants would have been enriched had their service to God been actual rather than vicarious.

(2) Future reward.

It is interesting to note that K. Young found that twenty-five per cent of the hymns which he studied had Future Reward as the basis of their appeal. This is, of course, very closely allied to "otherworldliness" which was discussed earlier in this chapter.⁷⁹ He defines it as a decidedly infantile phantasy. However, we do know that compensation for unfulfilled wishes here and now, is one of the functions of this projection of reward in the future. When one considers the background of many who participate in revivals it is easy to see how this appeal might work. To an Irish mill girl of the fifties, whose narrow existence consisted of many hours a day in a dingy mill, followed by an evening sitting round the fire in a crowded Irish cottage; a girl who had never seen a building more elaborate than the rectory, such a song as the following could not fail to ap-

peal:

"I have read of a beautiful city,
Far away in the kingdom of God;
I have read how its walls are of jasper,
How its streets are all golden and broad.
• • • • •
I have read of bright mansions in heaven,
Which the Saviour has gone to prepare;
And the Saints who on earth have been faithful,
Rest forever with Christ over there." (79-a)

What girl could not forget the plainness of her frock and
her worn hat in the glorious hope expressed in:

"I have read of white robes for the righteous,
Of bright crowns which the glorified wear." (80)

(3) Individualism

In a great many of the revival hymns we find the appeal to
the ego of the singer mirroring, of course, the type of salvation so
often stressed: the salvation of the individual to the detriment of
any idea of social salvation. This is nowhere better expressed than
in that ever popular revival hymn, "When the Roll is Called up Yon-
der". Consider, for example, the second verse:

"On that bright and cloudless morning
When the dead in Christ shall rise,
And the glory of His resurrection share;
When His chosen ones shall gather
To their home beyond the skies,
And the roll is called up yonder,
I'll be there." (81)

One sees reflected here that which might be referred to as
"The New Doctrine of Election", the coming home of God's chosen peo-

ple.

(4) Sex.

In some of the more recent revival hymn books we find songs which have a definite sex appeal. The part which such songs play in the lives of revival converts is worthy of study. Such writers as G. S. Hall,⁸² E. D. Starbuck⁸³, and E. S. Ames⁸⁴ have stressed the fact that conversion is basically an adolescent experience. In other words, young people are religiously "set" at about the same time that the sex-function begins to come into prominence. The influence upon such young people of songs stressing sex cannot fail to be harmful.

The writer realizes, of course, that if sentiment were removed religion would prove arid and fruitless, but it is hard to see a real value in hymns which stress the erotic. Sheldon Bissell quotes⁸⁵ as an example of such a hymn one entitled "Ivory Palaces" which has been much used in revivals. The first stanza is as follows:

"My Lord has garments so wondrous fine,
And myrrh their texture fills;
Its fragrance reached to this heart of mine,
With joy my being thrills." (86)

This hymn, S. Bissell feels, is built upon an appeal to eroticism:

"'Perfume' is always associated with enticements of eroticisms. It is one of the most powerful stimulants to the physical passions. To sing about Christ as though he approached a susceptible and palpitating girl with 'fragrance in his garments', bringing 'thrills' to her 'heart'

is simply to make a subtle appeal to those springs whence issues physical passion." (87)

Another revival hymn, "Who Could It Be", employs terms so associated with the tender activities of courtship and love-making, that it is more easy to discern the sensual than the spiritual message it purports to bring. Consider such lines from it, as:

"Somebody bent so tenderly
Pleading so long and patiently,

Somebody whispered sweet and low,

Somebody holds my hand each day." (88)

Surely such contactual suggestions as "holding my hand", "whispering sweet and low", "bending tenderly down", etc., can hardly fail to give romantic young people (and one might add girlish-minded adult women and men) who sing the hymn the kind of "thrill" which makes no contribution to a stable, well-balanced life of Christian character.⁸⁹

"We have ample testimony that under certain high emotional tensions, the masculine of Jesus rather than his asexual archetypal character is what makes the appeal to adolescent high-strung girls. It is hardly strange that in the cold dawn of reaction, the virile, unromantic ethical note makes slight impression. That is one reason why back-sliding after revivals has been so common." (90)

"But", the proponents of these hymns may say, "the expressions used in these hymns are purely figurative and if the worshipper approaches the hymn in a truly exalted mood of spiritual detachment, such physical and erotic suggestions are impossible. Bissell contends

that to say this is simply to ignore human nature.

"Put a hymnal in the hands of a young man and young woman who are keyed up to a somewhat higher emotional pitch than usual, owing not merely to close physical proximity but to the nature of the religious appeal, and all hymns of an erotic sort are bound to operate in such a way that their allegorical and figurative implications are lost in the sensuous personal appeal." (91)

In the light of the facts presented, and when we consider the further fact that the singing of such hymns has often been under the spell engendered by the music and an eloquent pulpit appeal, it is little wonder that many revivals have been marked by the presence of sexual orgies.⁹²

(a) Appeal to the tender emotions.

Very closely related to the foregoing is the use which revivalists make of an appeal to the tender emotions. Such hymns as "Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight," "Lord, I'm Coming Home," "Softly and Tenderly Jesus is Calling," "Almost Persuaded", etc., are many times used with great effect because of their sentimental appeal. It is the same appeal stressed in rescue mission halls by placards such as: "How Long Since You Wrote to Mother"?, etc.

By the use of hymns with such a sentimental appeal revivalists are sometimes able to get people, whom no amount of preaching could influence, to the mourner's bench, or "to hit the trail."⁹³ By the suggestions engendered individuals are led to do things actually against their wills.⁹⁴ An incident recorded by an enthusiast for W. A. Sunday is enlightening.

"Meanwhile, Rodeheaver, the chorister, leans upon the piano and softly leads the great choir in 'Almost Persuaded'. The musical invitation continues while the work goes on in front. (95) The song quickly changes to 'Oh Where Is My Wandering Boy Tonight?' and then, as the volume of the penitents increases, into 'I Am Coming Home' and 'Ring the Bells of Heaven, There Is Joy To-day!' All this is psychological; it fosters the mood which the sermon has created. Music mellows as many hearts as spoken words." (96)

(c.) The use of suggestion.

Hymns have proved an effective weapon in the hands of revivalists for securing desired results. The power of suggestion has been laid hold of and vigorously used. Singing proves an effective weapon where some other exercises would not. "In the first place all can take part in it; the emotions which have been swelling up in the hearts of the individuals can thus be given vent. The man can sing as loud as he likes and thus express himself." 97

The hymn proves an effective agent of both suggestion and auto-suggestion. Each member of the audience, by singing the sentiments and ideas which the revivalist wishes to instill, suggests those ideas to himself. "He also at the same time passes the suggestion to his neighbor. The whole audience thus acts upon each individual in the audience and so acts and reacts upon itself, thus spreading the desired suggestion by geometrical progression. Each individual feels also the strength and power of the whole back of him." 98

A revival hymn which is a good example of a combination of suggestion and auto-suggestion is the following:

"For you and for me
He prayed on the tree:

"The prayer is accepted, the sinner is free.

That sinner am I
Who on Jesus rely,
And come for the pardon God cannot deny." (99)

Cal Ogburn gives an excellent example of a revival hymn which could not be sung without arousing the desired feeling-state sought for by the revivalist. Who could resist approaching the "mercy seat" when under the influence of such words as:

"Come to Jesus - come to Jesus - come to Jesus,
Just now - just now;
Come to Jesus - come to Jesus,
Just now!

He invites you - he invites you - he invites you,
Just now - just now;
He invites you - he invites you,
Just now!" (100)

Add to this innumerable verses:

"He will save you, etc.

He is willing, etc.

He is able, etc.

Don't reject him, etc.

Now accept him, etc."

Since these verses under the ingenuity of the leader were sung ad nauseum to the accompaniment of music designed to arouse emotion¹⁰¹, and since between the verses was heard the low and tender tones of a speaker urging, "Come, just now," there is no occasion for surprise that people flocked the aisles. The fact that the song

"was nearly as simple as a nursery song" did not detract from its power of arousing the desired emotions.

(d) Content.

Something has already been said as to the material dealt with in revival hymns, but something needs to be said concerning quality, or, perhaps, more correctly of lack of quality in many hymns. In this connection G. A. Coe passes some severe strictures on American revival hymns. He says:

"There is nothing of the profound emotion and stately movement of the standard hymns. The water is shallow, and light and shifty winds raise ripples everywhere upon its surface. . . . The thought is weak and disconnected. There is no foresight, hindsight, or proportion, and no sense of consistency. What is intended for thought is a mere jumble of pious ideas. The composition of the verse corresponds. It is purely mechanical. Meter is held in light esteem, and any crime against sense or syntax is committed for the sake of making rhymes." (102)

He quotes and analyzes what he considers the best of the more recent revival songs: "Let Him In." I quote two stanzas:

"Open now to him your heart;
If you wait he will depart.
Let him in, he is your friend,
He your soul will sure defend,
He will keep you to the end.

Hear you now his loving voice,
Now, O, now make him your choice;
He is standing at the door,
Joy to you he will restore,
And his name you will adore." (103)

Coe goes on to say that one could write one line of the

hymn on each of ten slips, shake the slips in a hat, draw them out indiscriminately, and, taking them in the new order, have nearly, if not quite, as good a poem as the one presented above.¹⁰⁴

Utter banality, through bad poetry, false Scripture and obsolete theology is not limited to modern "gospel hymns". Some of a much earlier date share the censure. Witness this gem which Philip Phillips, who was characterized by an editorial writer in Music as a "devout fraud"¹⁰⁵, perpetrated upon the ministers of the Rock River conference of the M. E. Church.

"Oh, to be nothing, nothing!
Only to lie at his feet,
A broken and emptied vessel,
For the Master's use made meet." (106)

Or again this quatrain, which G. Dearmer declares¹⁰⁷ shows something decidedly lacking in inspiration:

"The fish in wave, the bird on wing,
God made the waters bear;
Each for our mortal body's food
His gracious Hands prepare." (108)

Instances of this type of thing could be multiplied.¹⁰⁹ A study of any book of "gospel hymns" will reveal much such banality.¹¹⁰ No wonder thinking people have revolted against such balderdash. As has been emphasized, many of these hymns have been in existence in revival circles for a long time. When we read the hymns of I. D. Sankey we find that many of them are mere wooden versifications of the commonplaces one hears in the 'testimonies' and exhortations at revival meetings.

Such hymns as those described find their champions. Even the people who admit that they are not of the best are still quite insistent that they are necessary if religion is to appeal to the masses.¹¹¹ There are others, however, who contend, and rightly, I believe, that such hymns serve no good purpose whether presented to the masses or to the intelligensia. If religion is to really accomplish its purpose it must make a reasonable appeal. Rev. C. C. Bell, who is admired for his evangelistic fervor and the sanity of his methods, says:

"We are told that they (revival hymns) are associated with the awakening of religious emotion and experience, and it is hinted that we are in danger of spiritual pride if we object to their use amongst those to whom they mean nothing but unreality and cacaphony. But if we were to urge that statements which are theologically unsound and really subversive to the truth must still continue to be made in mission sermons because they have been known to awaken religious emotion, we should at once be accused, and rightly, of obscurantism of the blackest dye. Surely obscurantism in hymns is as base as obscurantism in sermon." (112)

(2) As to music.

While the influence of the words of hymns is great in influencing behavior, there is reason to believe that the music to which they are set has as much, if not more, to do with their influence upon the participants in revivals.

(a) The power of music in influencing behavior.

This provides a most valuable field for research and yet one in which very little scholarly work has been done.¹¹³ The first scientific study of the physiological effect of music seems to have

been that of the French musician, A. E. M. Gretry (1741-1813) who in his Essais sur la musique mentions the effect of music upon the heart and the circulation of the blood.¹¹⁴ In 1880, J. Dogiel¹¹⁵ performed a somewhat similar experiment. In the intervening years many interesting experiments have been carried out. One of the most recent was that of I. H. Hyde and W. Scalpino¹¹⁶ who investigated the influence of music upon electro-cardiograms and blood pressure. All of these experiments have, of course, been limited to the laboratory and to a study of the effect of music upon individuals as such. There is need for attention to be given to the effect of music upon people in the mass, or the socio-physiological and socio-psychological effects of music.

In this respect we are limited to observations which have been made of groups of men under the influence of music. Walter B. Cannon¹¹⁷ seems to have done the best work along this line. A passage from one of his works is of value in this connection.

"As Darwin long ago indicated, music has a wonderful power of recalling in a vague and indefinite manner strong emotions which have been felt by our ancestors in long-past ages. . . . When deeds of fortitude and fierce exertion are to be performed the effectiveness of music in arousing the aggressive emotions has long been recognized. . . . There is a tradition that the Hungarian troops are the worst in Europe until their bands begin to play - then they are the best." (118)

(1) Valuable as a curative.

The value of music as a method of treating the sick is slowly coming to be recognized. This art has moved away from the

magic₁₁₉ with which it was early associated and has risen to a place of prominence as a recognized medical practice under the term of Musical Therapeutics.₁₂₀ Through the work of pioneers in the field, music has been used quite extensively with gratifying results as a curative measure in hospitals, insane asylums, and prisons.₁₂₁

(2) Equally effective in producing undesirable results.

Just as music can be a unifying element, it can also make for the break-down of personality. Music may, for example, be the determining factor in the arousing of eroticism in the individual as is demonstrated in a good deal of primitive music.₁₂₂

"Music can poison the moral constitution as well as the physical. It has the power not only to soothe the savage breast but to awaken the savage in the breast. After his defeat in Russia Napoleon declared it was caused by the Russian winter and the Russian army music. He said that the weird and barbaric tunes of those beastly Cossack regiments 'simply infuriated the half-starved Muscovites and they wiped out the best regiments of the French army.'" (123)

(b) Rhythm and its use in revivals.

A great deal of evidence could be brought to support the contention that under the influence of certain types of music men may be induced to engage in activities not socially desirable, and adverse to the health and energy of self.₁₂₄

The greatest factor in the production of emotion through music is rhythm.₁₂₅ F. Howes points out₁₂₆ that W. Wundt classes rhythm as itself an emotion, and that by the means of rhythm there may be produced "a whole series of ordinary emotions ranging from

stupor to frenzy." This corroborates G. A. Coe's statement that: "Rhythm plays an interesting role . . . in the type of hypnosis popularly called trance."¹²⁷

That certain revival hymns have a like hypnotic influence when used by a skilled director cannot be denied. In the case of certain hymns, while the intellect says one thing, the rhythm stresses another. The contagion of the rhythm draws all participants into the scene of action. We are told of a revival hymn by James Montgomery¹²⁸ sung to the tune of "Duane Street" which had "a step that made every heart beat time."¹²⁹ The power of the rhythm was such that "when once the song was started, every tongue took it up, (and it was strange if every foot did not count the measure) and the coldest kindled with gospel warmth as it swept on."¹³⁰

Similarly of another hymn, "Where Now Are the Hebrew Children", it is recorded: "The enthusiasm excited by the swinging rhythm of the tune sometimes rose to a passionate pitch, and it was seldom used in the more controlled religious assemblies. . . . The singers had little need to read the music. Like the ancient runes, it came into being by spontaneous generation."¹³¹

(1) The use of repetition.

We are told by travellers that in the war dances of the primitive African tribes when the warriors are being keyed up to a pitch of frenzy in order to prepare them for battle with the enemy, the medicine men accomplish this in great measure by the use of a continually returning rhythm. This rhythm continues until it beats

its way into the brain of the listener and automatically repeats itself. Travellers report that the insistent measure of the "tom tom" is such that people have gone insane at the very sound of the "jungle drums."

A similar effect is noted in some of the more primitive revivals where the music used is not far from that of the African "tom tom".¹³² The writer's wife was present at a revival meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, of a group of negroes, where the songs used were but little removed from the music of their African ancestors. The organization was known as "The True Believers of the Baptized by Fire Church." The music for the hymns was supplied by a bass drum, two banjos and a guitar. Practically all the hymns consisted of stanzas of one line repeated three times followed by a final line of somewhat different rhythm. When the music began the two negro mammies who were leading the hymns would actually sing the words. As the music progressed, however, they forsook the words and began to dance in time with the rhythm.¹³³ As the music continued the people also forsook the words, merely humming and swaying in time with the rhythm. The hymn was continued, being sung over and over, until musicians and audience were practically exhausted.

However, the hypnotism of rhythm is not confined to those whose ancestral roots reach back into African soil.¹³⁴ The pull of rhythm has been used with great effect in other groups, although the results were perhaps more mild. Cal Ogburn tells¹³⁵ of the pull of rhythm at a revival meeting held in Iowa in the middle years of the last century. This was especially evident in a hymn, "Climbing

Jacob's Ladder." The hymn consisted stanzas of three lines alike, followed by a fourth line in a somewhat different rhythm. The number of verses depended upon the ingenuity of the leader and the staying power of the audience. The effect of the rhythm upon one individual is of interest. This man was of sturdy rather than athletic build, not yet of middle age, who was decidedly taciturn and especially deliberate in all his movements. Under the spell of the revival, and more especially under the stimulus of this song he underwent a decided transformation, talking freely and moving quickly.

When the song mentioned above got under way, and its lilt-ing rhythm began to cause many in the audience to jump and shout, this man demonstrated its effect upon him in another way. Under the hypnotic spell₁₃₆ of the rhythm he mounted to the top of the seats and ran back and forth across the room, stepping lightly from the top of one rude bench to another, keeping time with the rhythm of the hymn.₁₃₇

(c) Use of popular tunes.

Most revivalists are psychologists enough to realize the power of a catchy tune₁₃₈, one which will run on in the head and sing itself. Thus inhibitions are broken down, emotion is built up, and under the guidance of the revivalist the individual is molded to the revivalist's wishes. In their eagerness for catchy tunes revivalists have committed many "sins". Even the Wesleys were guilty of this breach of good taste. In order to win some sailors who were in the habit of singing a popular music hall song called "Nancy Dawson",

Charles Wesley wrote sacred words to fit the tune.¹³⁹

This revivalistic desire for catchy tunes had great effect upon the Sunday School music in America during the first half of the last century. Millar Patrick tells us that it "had sunk to unbelievable depths." "There was no scruple about using the most inappropriate street melodies, such as 'Cocachelunk', familiar in some students' song-books, and 'We won't go home till morning,' to more or less sacred words."¹⁴⁰

A number of writers have used the phrase "sentimental jazz" to characterize the type of "gospel hymn" advocated by recent revivalists. When one considers the blatant tunes of some of them this characterization cannot be denied.¹⁴¹ The purpose of the music of many of them seems to be to give young people "all the thrills they are accustomed to in secular songs but freed from the indecencies of which current song is so full."¹⁴² A case of reciprocity in a North Carolina city is reported by Professor Poteat of Wake Forest College.¹⁴³ He tells of a dance at which the orchestra used one of the more recent "revival" hymn books to provide music enough for the whole evening.

C. What of the future?

As was stated at the beginning of the chapter, most of the hymns of Charles Wesley and the revival hymns of recent production are poles apart. How are we to account for this decadence? Since the factors which determine an answer to this question will be studied more in detail in another chapter¹⁴⁴, it seems well here to merely

indicate that while the hymns of the Wesleys grew largely out of a need for the expression of deep religious emotion, the modern contribution has come about because the proponents of "manufactured" revivals have found it necessary to "manufacture" a hymnology capable of aiding the production of the results which they desire.

But the future of revival hymns is dark. As individuals become more intelligent they are less attracted by the cruder melodies and blatant words of such hymns. There is a definite movement to be rid of dull, weak, banal, mechanical (and sometimes vulgar) revival hymns; just as this type of composition in the hymns of Watts and the Wesleys has been lost with time.

"Such combinations do not long endure; the prattle of the rhymes soon palls upon the sense, and the catchy melody becomes dull and stale, and a new batch is soon called for, to give place, in its turn, to something lighter and more worthless still. . . . There is much patient educational work to be done along this line by intelligent pastors, in seeking to correct the perversions of taste, and to elevate the standards of psalmody. . . . The best hymns, when they become familiar, will never grow stale or old, and the best tunes are those that can no more be antiquated than daisies or daily bread." 145

There is still place for emotion in religion, if that emotion be directed aright. The impulse which church leaders need to induce in individuals is complete devotion to the will of God, - an impulse which is often inhibited by selfish and unworthy motives. "If now the mind can be so filled with religious emotion that all these inhibitions shall lapse into the background or be clean forgotten and only the desire to do God's will remain, the result not only may be excellent, but may lead to further steps which shall

mean genuine and lasting conversion."¹⁴⁶

No one will deny that hymns can play a great part in this process, but it will not be done by the type of hymnology which has characterized the more recent Protestant revivals.

NOTES

Chapter V.

1. Revivals, Contemp. Rev. - Vol. 88 - (1905) - p. 358
2. Quoted by E. H. Lorenz: The gospel hymn, Christian Century - Vol. 46 - (1929) - p. 1542
3. Ibid: loc. cit.
4. W. E. B. Du Bois: The souls of the black folk, p. 192
5. L. F. Benson: H. C. C. p. 87
6. E. Dickinson: Music in the history of the Western Church, p. 378
7. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 205
8. It is interesting to notice John Wesley's reaction to this practise. He ridiculed the psalmody of his time as "the miserable, scandalous doggerel of Sternhold and Hopkins; at first droned out, two staves at a time, by a poor humdrum wretch, and then bawled out by a handful of wild unawakened striplings who neither feel nor understand what they scream while the congregation is lolling at ease, or in the indecent posture of sitting, drawling it out one word after another." L. Tyerman: Life and times of John Wesley, 5th. ed. - London - (1880) - Vol. 2 - pp. 282, 283. Quoted by L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 222
9. E. Dickinson: op. cit. p. 379
10. Ibid: p. 380
11. Quoted by L. F. Benson: H. C. C. p. 116
12. E. Dickinson: loc. cit.
13. P. M. R. p. 121
14. In this connection see A collection of hymns for the use of the people called Methodists, by the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., - London - (1769)
15. W. M. Gewehr: G. A. V. p. 164
16. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 161
17. Thomas Walker: The grounds and rules of musick explained - Boston - (1721). Quoted by L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 161

18. He seems to have had little use for the Wesleyan hymns. Perhaps the fact that during George Whitefield's visit to America Wesley published certain Arminian views which called forth Whitefield's protest had some influence in the matter.
19. In this connection see L. F. Benson: E. H. Chap. 4 - Part 4 - Sections I, 1; II, 1.
20. Quoted by C. H. Richards: Evolution in hymnology, Forum - Vol. 54 - (1915) - p. 754. This writer well says: "The poet who composed such verses as these seems to have driven Pegasus over a corduroy road". (loc. cit.)
21. op. cit. p. 1544
22. R. Davidson: History of the Presbyterian church in the state of Kentucky, p. 141
23. An example of this type of song was one entitled, "Where Now Are the Hebrew Children." One writer says: "This quaint old unison, repeating the above three times, followed by the answer (thrice repeated) and climaxed with - "Safely in the Promised Land" - was a favorite at camp-meetings, and a good leader could keep it going in a congregation or a happy group of vocalists, improvising a new start-line after every stop until his memory or invention gave out." T. Brown and H. Butterworth: The story of hymns and tunes, p. 270
24. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 292
25. Ibid: p. 295
26. Village hymns for social worship. Selected and original. Designed as a supplement to the psalms and hymns of Dr. Watts. By Asahel Nettleton. (New York)
27. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 376. The last phrases in the quotation marks are quoted by Dr. Benson from the Preface of Nettleton's hymn book.
28. E. H. Lorenz: op. cit. p. 1544
29. L. F. Benson: op. cit. p. 377
30. Ibid: loc. cit.
31. Preface to Spiritual songs for social worship: adapted to the use of families and private circles in seasons of revival, to missionary meetings, to the monthly concert, and to other occasions of special interest. Words and music arranged by Thomas Hastings, of

- Utica, and Lowell Mason, of Boston. (Utica, 1832). Quoted by L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 379
32. Quoted by J. Baillie: The revival, etc. pp. 22-23
33. L. F. Benson: op. cit. pp. 488-489
34. L. F. Benson: H. C. C. p. 266
35. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 486
36. Gospel hymns and sacred songs. By P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey, as used by them in gospel meetings. (Bigelow and Main, and John Church and Co - 1875)
37. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 488
38. Ibid: p. 487
39. Ibid: p. 488
40. T. Brown and H. Butterworth: op. cit. pp. 395-396
41. "Dyma Gariad Fel Y Moroedd, Tosturiasthan Fel Y Lli", written by Rev. William Rees, D. D., who died in 1883. He was eminent as a preacher, poet, politician and essayist, and his was one of the greatest names of nineteenth century Wales.
42. The awakening in Wales and some hidden springs, p. 10
43. M. M. C. p. 87
44. Quoted by H. E. Lewis: With Christ among the miners, p. 254
45. op. cit. p. 87 "alternativement en anglais et en gallois."
46. W. R. R. pp. 83-84. His exposition of this thesis is valuable.
47. loc. cit.
48. L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 492
49. Ibid: loc. cit.
50. L. F. Benson: H. C. C. p. 268
51. In this connection see H. McN. Poteat: Practical hymnology, passim.
52. Chap. 4 - "Revival Theology and Preaching"

53. "The sermon and hymn led to the separation of the Revival forces into two camps, the Calvinistic under Whitefield, the Arminian under Wesley, to the organization of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion and of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales." L. F. Benson: E. H. p. 232
54. L. F. Benson: op. cit. pp. 232-233
55. Cf. Wiatt's Impartial Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, (Philadelphia - 1809) a book which grew out of the camp-meetings following the Kentucky revival. It contained songs of a proselytizing type, such as "The Beauties of Predestination" and "Against the Calvinian Doctrine". Quoted by L. F. Benson: op. cit. pp. 295-296
56. S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 224
57. Ibid: p. 231
58. Quoted by S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 233
59. Quoted by S. G. Dimond: loc. cit.
60. Methodist Hymnal (1849). Quoted by E. T. Clark: P. R. A. p. 72 - Note 12
61. P. T. R. R. p. 98
62. Henry Spackman Pancoast: Introduction to American Literature, p. 64. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: loc. cit.
63. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 99
64. History of revivals of religion in the British Isles, p. 134
65. Written by Henry Hart Milman, born in 1791, for some years professor of poetry at Oxford.
66. Quoted by T. Brown and H. Butterworth: op. cit. p. 279
67. I. D. Sankey: Sacred songs and solos, No. 549 - p. 112
68. The pioneer religious revival, Annals of Iowa - (Third Series) - Vol. 15 - (1927) - p. 488. The author says, "The last line but one of each stanza was repeated twice, becoming progressively also louder and the volume correspondingly greater till the third time it was indeed as the cry of a lost soul: 'Lost forever! Lost forever! Lost F O R E V E R!' I almost shudder even now as I recall with what terror, as a boy, I listened to the singing of that solo."

- 68-a. T. Brown and H. Butterworth: op. cit. p. 286
69. Ibid: p. 287
70. I. D. Sankey: op. cit. No. 364 - p. 75
71. In this connection see E. D. Martin: The Mystery of religion, Chap. 4.
72. In this connection, Cf. K. Young: The integration of personality, Pedagogical Seminar - Vol. 30 - (1923) - p. 264-285, where the author gives a brief interpretation of the problem of the integration of personality.
73. K. Young: The psychology of hymns, J. of Abnor. and Soc. Psvch. - Vol. 20 - (1925-26) - p. 392
74. He lists the sources of these songs as follows: Victory Songs, No. 4 by Booth-Clibborn; Temple Chimes, by Evangelist (revivalist?) C. C. Luther; Gospel Bells, by E. O. Excell and W. E. M. Hackleman; Gospel Hymns (a collection of songs from D. L. Moody, I. D. Sankey and other evangelists (revivalists?)); Song Worship, by L. O. Emerson and W. F. Sherwin; New Praise Hymnal, by C. J. Ellis and J. H. Fillmore; and finally, Wesley's Hymns (old Methodist edition)
75. Cf. S. Freud: Group Psychology and the analysis of the ego, and E. D. Martin: op. cit.
76. Quoted by K. Young: op. cit. p. 395
77. E. S. Conklin: The psychology of religious adjustment, p. 197
78. K. Young: op. cit. p. 396
79. pp. 248-249
- 79-a. Quoted by K. Young: op. cit. p. 397
80. Ibid: loc. cit.
81. Ibid: loc. cit. (The italics are mine)
82. Adolescence, etc. - Vol. 2 - p. 290
83. P. R. p. 28
84. The psychology of religious experience, p. 215
85. Erotic hymnody, Christian Century - Vol. 46 - (1929) - p. 1216.

(In the discussion which follows the writer frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to this article)

86. Quoted by S. Bissell: loc. cit.
87. Ibid: loc. cit.
88. Ibid: loc. cit.
89. Ibid: loc. cit.
90. Ibid: loc. cit.
91. Ibid: loc. cit.
92. Thus J. T. Adams tells us that many camp-meetings following the Kentucky revival were characterized by religious frenzy which often passed into a sexual orgy. In describing such meetings he says: "As dusk came on, and the preacher played upon the emotional natures of his hearers, he would be surrounded by a mass of humanity in which all intellectual control had been released, some throwing themselves in couples on the ground among the trees in frenzies of sexual passion." The epic of America, p. 127 (The italics are mine)
93. Cf. the case recorded by J. K. Mclean where a young woman upon whom the preaching, and the pleading of another, had made no impress was "led to Christ" by the hymn, "Pass me not, O Gentle Saviour", sung as a solo by Mr. Alexander. Triumphant Evangelism, etc. pp. 250-251
94. J. Rogues de Fursac records an instance of an avowed atheist who was converted through participating in hymn singing in a revival. op. cit. p. 64
95. That is, while the converts are "hitting the trail".
96. W. T. Ellis: The Billy Sunday book, p. 164
97. J. B. Pratt: R. C. p. 176
98. Ibid: pp. 176-177
99. Quoted by S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 122
100. op. cit. p. 493
101. The part played by music will be discussed in the second section of this chapter.

102. Spiritual life, p. 228
103. Quoted by G. A. Coe: op. cit. p. 230
104. Ibid: pp. 230-231. "And yet this composition is probably less open to serious objection than the majority of the songs of its class." p. 231
105. Musical taste at a low ebb, Music - Vol. 21 - (1902) - p. 325
106. Quoted from I. D. Sankey: op. cit. No. 133 - p. 28
107. Hymns, happy and unhappy, London Mercury - Vol. 9 - (1923) - p. 53
108. Ibid: loc. cit.
109. For example see Rubbish in the hymnal, Lit. Digest - Vol. 47 - July (1913) - pp. 136-137
110. Consider such a gem as:
 "I should like to die," said Willie, "if my papa
 could die too;
 But he says he isn't ready, 'cause he has so
 much to do;
 And my little sister Nellie says that I must
 surely die
 And that she and mamma - then she stopped, be-
 cause it made me cry."
 Quoted from I. D. Sankey: op. cit. No. 415 - p. 85
111. Thus an editorial writer in the Nation (N. Y.) declares: "The people who sing them (revival hymns) with such zest would not appreciate the delicacy and refinement, in thought and expression of the few great hymns." Gospel hymns for 80,000,000, Nation, - Vol. 87 - (1908) - p. 156
112. The work of an evangelist, pp. 81-82
113. Thus one writer says: "When we inquire into the specific nature of musical influences on the individual organism, we find indeed a considerable mass of data, but very little of scientific value in itself. Our data on the subject vary in reliability according to the methods by which they were obtained, the standards of observation and expression of the age in which they were made, and the temperament, training, and object of the individual investigator." C. M. Diserens: The influence of music on behavior, pp. 21-22 (An unpublished doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Cincinnati, Ohio - June, 1922)

114. Ibid: p. 154
115. Uber den einfluss der musik auf den blutkreislauf, Archiv. fur Physiologie (du Bois Raymond) - (1880) - pp. 416-428. Quoted by C. M. Diserens: loc. cit.
116. The influence of music upon electro-cardiograms and blood pressure, J. of Experimental Psych. - Vol. 7 - (1924) - pp. 213-244
117. See especially his Bodily changes in pain, hunger, fear and rage, p. 227ff.
118. Ibid: pp. 227-228. In this connection the following incident is interesting: "At a critical moment during the battle of Waterloo, Wellington discovered that the Forty-second Highlanders began to waver. On inquiry as to the cause of an occurrence so unusual, he was informed that the band had ceased to play. Instantly he gave the command that the pipes be played in full force. The effect was magical. The wavering Highlanders rallied! and solid and impregnable as the fort of Gibraltar, with tattered colors and blood-drenched swords, they went forward to win the hard-contested field." Quoted by H. Fish: Handbook of Revivals, p. 6
119. See The music cure among the Indians, Lit. Digest - Vol. 77 - June (1923) - p. 30.
120. For an excellent study of this development see C. M. Diserens: op. cit. Chap. 5
121. In this connection see W. van de Wall: The utilization of music in prisons and mental hospitals. (There is an excellent bibliography at the end of the book)
122. In this connection see Richard Wallaschek: Primitive music, an inquiry into the origin and development of music, songs, instruments, dances and pantomimes of savage races - London - (1893)
123. E. A. Vescelius: Music and health, Musical Quar. - Vol. 4 - (1918) - p. 391
124. Some explanation of this is found in certain conclusions which C. M. Diserens draws concerning the influence of music, after a rather thorough review of the experimental literature of behavior in response to musical stimuli. Namely, (1) Music of any kind increases the extent and rapidity of voluntary movements probably by re-inforcing elementary reflexes, which compose the movements; (2) Music lowers the threshold for sensory stimuli of different modes; (3) Music affords the physiological bases for the genesis of emotions. op. cit. p. 216

125. For most excellent source material on rhythm see C. A. Ruckmick: A bibliography of rhythm, J. of Psych. - Vol. 35 - (1924) - pp. 407-413. The whole question of the rhythmic factor in life will be considered more fully in Chap. 8 of this thesis - "The Genesis of Revivals".
126. The borderland of music and psychology, p. 70-71
127. Psychology of religion, p. 166
128. "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" Quoted by T. Brown and H. Butterworth: op. cit. p. 285
129. Ibid: loc. cit.
130. Ibid: loc. cit.
131. Ibid: p. 271. A similar use of the hymn, 'Let Us With a Gladsome Mind', is recorded in H. S. Dyer's report of the revival in India. This hymn, she says, "was frequently repeated with a hallelujah chorus. One night this chorus was sung for more than an hour without any intermission, with clapping of hands and dancing." R. I. p. 74. Cf. also pp. 80-81. This was also true of, the use of hymns by the Welsh "Jumpers". See F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 142
132. For a description of such a meeting see M. Conway: The crowd in peace and war, pp.91-92. Also in this connection see S. Olivier: Art, Love, and Revivalism, Contemp. Rev. - Vol. 88 - (1905) - pp. 509-511
133. This is akin to the phenomenon of religious thrill examined by E. Durkheim and his students in the study of primitive religions. See E. Durkheim: Elementary forms of religious experience, passim.
134. The writer has heard hymns used in a similar way by the church known as "The Pentecostal Mission" (white). To the rhythm of two guitars, the music was continued until a dozen or more of the congregation were prostrated in the sawdust on the floor of the tent.
135. op. cit. pp. 502-503
136. I here use Ogburn's own phrase.
137. One of my friends, Dr. William S. Dando of Emporia, Kansas, who spent his early years in Wales reports that he has often seen the same thing happen in Welsh revivals when converts under the spell of the lilting rhythm of some hymn lost control. See also A. T. Fryer: op. cit. p. 128 Appendix C.

138. Cf. The favorite hymn of Billy Sunday and his audiences,
"Brighten the Corner Where You Are".
139. Quoted by S. G. Dimond: op. cit. p. 123 note.
140. "Covenanters", true story of a much-discussed tune, Life and Work (Record of the Church of Scotland) - March, 1931 - pp. 103-104
141. Some explanation of the use of such hymns is perhaps found in C. M. Diseren's statement that: "In the case of human beings, we find a preference for ruder and more energetic stimuli among the less cultivated, . . . who appear to delight in sound . . . combinations which pain the cultivated ear. op. cit. p. 3
142. A. C. Benson: H. C. C. p. 269
143. H. McN. Poteat: op. cit. p. 69 note
144. Chap. 9 - "Revivals Evaluated"
145. W. Gladden: The Christian pastor, p. 140
146. J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 177

"Psychology thinks that conversion can be accounted for by the uprush of the sub-conscious. This is right, but the motive is not one from within. It is a stirring from without - the super-conscious. An inrush of the super-conscious stirs the sub-conscious and adds to what is there - a real revelation. The proof that a Higher Intelligence does the stirring is found in the fact that not all of the sub-conscious is stirred. It selects those elements in the sub-conscious which are akin to the new truth, while ignoring the viler elements. This is the working of the sub-conscious in man, and the super-conscious in God." - Hywel T. Hughes

CHAPTER VI.

CONVERSION DURING A REVIVAL

A. The conversion experience.

Since, as W. P. Paterson maintains₁, the chief aim of great religions, and notably of Christianity, has been to produce the regenerate man, they have naturally had much to say about conversion, the stages of sanctification, and the means whereby the spiritual results are to be achieved. The subject of "salvation" has been studied for many centuries₂, but it is in recent years that the phenomenon of conversion has been subject to the most research.₃

Just as the experience of salvation has long been held as central in religion, so also has conversion been made central in revivals. The success of any revival has been measured in the number of conversions which have been recorded. In the light of these facts serious study should be given to conversion in general, as well as to the conversion experience in revivals.

As previously shown₄, the phenomenon of conversion in general has received careful study at the hands of competent students of the psychology of religion. It will be unnecessary, therefore, in this study to go into that subject at great length. I propose to present some definitions of the phenomenon, and to make a brief study of its expression in general₅, followed by a careful study of its expression in revivals.

(1) Definitions

(a) As presented by various writers.

It seems well at the outset to present some definitions of

the phenomenon with which I plan to deal, as lack of definition has often resulted in definite misunderstanding.⁶ We find it variously defined as: "a change of intention,"⁷ "an experience in which the rationalistic features fall off and the suppressed hypnotic centers explode with immense satisfaction,"⁸ "an overpowering impression on the mind, that supplies a new and energetic motive to the will,"⁹ "the inhibition of lower centers of nervous discharge through the establishment of higher connections and identification of the Ego with new activities,"¹⁰ "the union of the mind and growth from a life of self to one of service,"¹¹ and "a favorable turn in the disease of sin."¹²

While this variety of definitions is interesting, it is advantageous to formulate a definition which will serve as a guide in this discussion. The following seems to be especially acceptable: "Conversion is an episode, . . . in the struggle for true personality."¹³ To explain further: "At every stage of the life of a person we encounter the struggle for unity, the need for release from conflict through a new integration of the elements which compose the material out of which the moral self has to be created."¹⁴ Conversion is the highest and crucial instance of the process."¹⁵ Christian conversion is to be looked upon as the highest form since it accomplishes the highest and completest unification of the self."¹⁶

Hence conversion involves the bringing into being of a social self. In the social self-realization of the convert there is no psychological dividing line between fellowship with man and fellow-

ship with the divine. The convert's "experience of self-emancipation is to him, per se, a satisfying social experience; it is direct acquaintance with an adequate socius."¹⁷

(b) A clarifying of terms.

It was William James who in his Gifford Lectures first gave currency to the phrase "twice-born" individuals.¹⁸ Since his day great use has been made of the term and many writers on the psychology of religion continue to refer to the "twice-born" as those who have experienced conversion, while the "once-born" are those who have been subject to the process of gradual growth. Thus the tendency has been to look upon the latter as not having gone through the conversion process.

To the mind of the writer such a confusion of terms is to be deplored.¹⁹ As will be later shown, the "once-born" individuals whose conversion experience expressed itself as the clearing up of a blurred complex nevertheless experienced conversion. They had a well-marked religious-complex, but it had never been in conflict with any other complex. "Its development under religious nurture had been so gradual that no crisis had occurred in their religious history. In them the kingdom of spiritual values had come 'without observation'."²⁰ However, they experienced conversion even though they could not date it.²¹ This fact made it none the less genuine.

There are on the other hand those who very definitely date the experience. A great many individuals have "met Christ on the Damascus road." They have been so blinded by the light of new experience

which has come to them as to be able to mark the day and the hour in which the light was seen. This, again, makes their experience no more genuine than the quiet experience mentioned above.

In the final analysis the conversion experience is a continuous process. It is not experienced once and forever. Man must continue to realign the elements in his life in accordance with new revelation as it is granted to him. For to the truly converted man God speaks all the more clearly, and that more clear apprehension of God brings with it the task of "regenerating" ones whole being.

(2) Its expression in religion.

(a) Occurrence not confined to Christianity.

While conversion has played a very important role in the history of the Christian church, it is by no means a phenomenon limited to Christianity. We find many examples of its occurrence among primitive peoples, and other non-Christian religious groups.²²

(b) May find expression in many ways.

A great many attempts have been made to classify conversions but with little success.²³ It is not my purpose to attempt any classification, but rather to show the different forms of expression which the phenomenon may assume. One realizes the arbitrariness of any classification

(1) According to the predominating aspect of personality involved.

There are, generally speaking, three types of personality, into which mankind is very apt to divide itself.²⁴ There are the

people of the thinking type, those of the willing type, and those of the feeling type. The difference in people of these three types is one of proportion.

We find, also, that the conversion phenomenon often times finds expression in any one of three such forms.²⁵ So we have: (a) intellectual conversion, involving the thinking part of man's nature; (b) moral conversion, involving essentially man's will; and (c) religious conversion, involving basically the emotional side of man's nature

(a) Intellectual conversion - thinking.

The classic instance of an intellectual conversion is the case of John Stuart Mill. He had been educated by his father who discarding all belief in God had brought up his son entirely without religion. However, there came a time when the teachings of his father proved insufficient for his needs. He recorded how he had been in a state of habitual depression, "the state, I should think," he said, "in which converts to Methodism are when smitten by their first conviction of sin'."²⁶ A deeper soul within him was calling for satisfaction, a satisfaction which he found not in Christianity but in poetry. In the autumn of 1826 Mill began to read the poetry of Wordsworth. Concerning this reading he, himself, said:

"These poems addressed themselves powerfully to one of the strongest of my pleasurable susceptibilities, the love of rural objects and natural scenery; to which I had been indebted, not only for much of the pleasure of my life, but quite recently for relief from one of my longest relapses into depression. . . . But Wordsworth would never

have had any great effect on me if he had merely placed before me beautiful pictures of natural scenery. What made Wordsworth's poems a medicine for my state of mind was that they expressed, not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling, and of thought colored by feeling, under the excitement of beauty. . . . In them I seemed to draw a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, which could be shared by all human beings; which . . . would be made richer by every improvement in the physical or social condition of mankind. . . . The result was that I gradually but completely emerged from my habitual depression." (27)

Thus as Steven says, to Mill "the possibility of thinking Christianity true was barred by philosophic conviction . . . and the spiritual truth that lay at the heart of his (Wordsworth's) poetry Mill could not receive."²⁸ However, he did secure peace through an intellectual conversion "confined within the limits of the ideas of the mind."²⁹

In like manner we have many cases of "theological" conversion which in reality are only changes of intellectual and not spiritual position, although radical enough to affect the whole life. Under the impetus of such intellectual conversions men move from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism; from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism, or from denomination to denomination within the Christian church.

(b) Moral conversion - willing.

In moral conversion we find men seeking to find reconciliation with the very heart and purpose of the universe. Countless examples of this type can be cited, such as those of Mazzini, Ruskin, and Bismark, but the two classic examples are those of Carlyle and

Tolstoi.

Carlyle depicts his struggle in Sartor Resartus.³⁰ To him the Universe was all void of life, purpose, and volition: it was one huge, dead, immeasurable steam-engine rolling on, in its dead indifference to grind him limb from limb. He found himself afraid, but he knew not what he feared. Suddenly one day he began to question why he need fear that which was unknown. At the same time there came into his heart the determination to be a "Child of Freedom" putting fear aside and fearlessly facing whatever might come. From that time on the whole temper of his life changed. Instead of fear or whining sorrow his whole being was dominated by indignation and grim defiance. He tells us that the Everlasting No pealed authoritatively through the whole recesses of his being, of his Me. His whole being stood up in native God-created majesty, and with emphasis recorded its protest. From that hour he dated his conversion.

This same process has taken place in the lives of many individuals. After a decision to live life at its best, they spend their strength "not for their own ends of pride, ambition, pleasure, but for the peace, the freedom, the elevation, and the bettering of man."³¹

The moral type of conversion has many times found expression in the lives of men who have thus been relieved from the binding chains of some bad habit.³² Sometimes these moral conversions have been so numerous as to be referred to as "revivals". Thus Kerr says:

"It may not be amiss to refer to the extraordinary mental

temperance-waves or revivals which have every now and again, passed over a whole state or country and have apparently swept away in their ardor for abstinence all the alcoholists in the community." (33)

It is only fair to add that in the case of alcoholism a moral conversion often proves insufficient. Many pledge but few remain steadfast. Experience seems to show that religious conversion is necessary to provide the individual with the moral stamina to withstand the demands put upon him in breaking with drink. And it is here that religious conversion has recorded some of its greatest victories.³⁴

(c) Religious conversion - feeling.

Religious conversion, contains elements over and above those present in intellectual and moral conversion. In religious conversion the individual in his struggle for true personality, makes a definite change in his relation to the One who is over all. It is not merely an intellectual change, nor a moral change resulting in a reform in conduct or in temper, but it is rather the re-alignment of all of life's values in the light of the Creator of those values. "The conversion is the acceptance of God's love and the surrender to it of the whole of life."³⁵ Any discussion of Christian conversion must take into account the place of God in the process.³⁶

(3) Theories offered to explain conversion.

The ways by which different groups of scholars have attempt-

ed to define conversion and explain it have been dependent upon their stand "on the debated subject of the relative influence of the inherent or intrinsic versus the environmental or extrinsic influences in individual development."³⁷ In this way three distinct theories have arisen. These it will be well to consider.³⁸

(a) The efflorescence or blossoming doctrine.

According to this theory certain obscure but innate factors determine in large part the characteristics of individual development. These innate factors predispose the individual at a certain age of development to be peculiarly responsive to the appeal of religion. Thus the age of most frequent conversion would seem to indicate the age at which the child is in the nascent period of religious growth. Those who held this view found support for their theory in the discovery that most peoples have in some fashion recognized the change taking place in the growing person at, or soon after, puberty.³⁹ That primitive peoples had religious practices signaling the simultaneous initiation of youths into manhood was somehow looked upon as giving support to the theory.⁴⁰ This emphasis upon things racial was no doubt due to the stress then laid upon the recapitulation theory.⁴¹

G. S. Hall and his school argued that since conversion occurred at, or near the time of, puberty, and since religion and love when examined were found to exhibit striking similarities in behavior,⁴² therefore conversion was a phase of the sex development. But as K. J. Saunders has stressed, there is a great difference between the state-

ment that "conversion is an essentially adolescent phenomenon" and the one that "conversion is merely an adolescent phenomenon."⁴³ It was because of the inaccuracy inherent in this latter statement that the efflorescence theory was relegated to disuse.

(b) The socialization theory.

G. S. Hall has made much use of this theory, seeming to feel that in the change from an auto-centric individual to a hetero-centric individual there was to be found the genetic base of religious conversion. But the socialization process is a purely secular and ethical matter. It often takes place without any religious ideas being involved. Hence it is an ethical experience.

As an individual develops from childhood to maturity he goes through a period known as a "change in the center" of life's activities. During infancy and childhood the individual's outlook is narrow and he is especially self-centered. The environment usually has much to do with this. Later, however, certain responsibilities and duties must be assumed. Although these conflict with his individualistic ambition the individual assumes them because of his desire to make happier the lives of those whom he loves. In the light of this consideration many cherished dreams are given up because their realization might bring sorrow or distress to some loved one. Thus as normal development progresses and new responsibilities are assumed, there is an inevitable process of socialization.

Because certain emotional aspects of this socialization process have striking similarity to some in religious conversion

this process has been confused with religious conversion. To the mind of the writer there is no doubt but that this socialization process plays a part in religious conversion, but it is insufficient as an explanation of that phenomenon.

(c) The substitution or unconscious doctrine.

The doctrine of substitution as an explanation of conversion received its initial impetus from the Gifford Lectures of William James. More recently S. De Sanctis under the influence of the⁴⁴ psycho-analytic school has elaborated the theory.⁴⁵

Wm. James explained conversion by assuming that certain material was accumulated and organized in the subconscious; the conversion experience then was the substitution of this material coming from the subconscious for the habits and interpretations which had been dominating the conscious. Since the time of Wm. James this theory has tended to dominate the field and has been applied over and over in many forms.⁴⁶ For the sake of convenience I accept one offered by E. S. Conklin:

"During the months and even years prior to the moment of conversion there have been occasional thoughts which, if entertained, would have meant dissatisfaction with the then held beliefs and desires of the individual. Such were rejected, and were repressed into the unconscious. Genuine dissatisfaction gradually developed, but this was earnestly fought against. This fighting with the dissatisfaction meant that the impulse to change was, although still repressed, becoming so strong as to threaten the capacity of consciousness to control. Eventually some circumstances either within or without the individual, or both, result in a giving up. He surrenders to the desire because he can no longer repress it. That which has been repressed now wells into consciousness and is accepted. There is marked

relief and notable feeling of peace and joy, this because of the cessation of the old strain of the conflict, which had been going on. An old set of habits is now displaced by a new which had been in process of organization." (47)

The value of this theory as an explanation of conversion can not be doubted. The writer feels it to be the most valuable yet developed, but it is open to certain modifications. In the first place, as will be shown later, there may be an unconscious repression of certain ideas so that the individual is not aware of an actual conflict. Again there are types of conversion where no conflict is felt, neither is there a repression, but rather a feeling of incompleteness which is dispelled when conversion takes place. Finally, although conversion can in the main be accounted for by an "uprush of the sub-conscious", I firmly hold with Professor H. T. Hughes that psychologists are mistaken when they attribute the motive of that uprush to something within the individual. To do so is to rule out God, without whom true Christian conversion is impossible. Thus Prof. Hughes says:

"Psychology thinks that conversion can be accounted for by the uprush of the sub-conscious. This is right, but the motive is not one from within. It is a stirring from without - the super-conscious (Cf. Emerson's "Over-soul"). An inrush of the super-conscious stirs the sub-conscious and adds to what is there - a real revelation. The proof that a Higher Intelligence does the stirring is found in the fact that not all of the sub-conscious is stirred. It selects those elements in the sub-conscious which are akin to the new truth, while ignoring the viler elements. This is the working of the sub-conscious in man, and the super-conscious in God." (48)

To the mind of the writer the truth of the above statement

dare not be ignored in any study of conversion. To attempt to explain conversion otherwise is to leave out of consideration the initiator of the process. This psychology cannot afford to do. Although psychologically it can in part be demonstrated how God works, it is none the less God who has done the thing. Psychology no more explains away the part of God in the conversion process, than the theory of evolution explains away a Creator.

(4) Possible forms of expression of the process of religious conversion.

The religious conversion process takes place in different ways in different individuals depending upon certain factors in the life of each individual. Some experience it as the bursting into consciousness of an unconsciously repressed complex, others as the resolving of a conflict between two lines of conduct, and still others as the clearing up of a blurred complex.⁴⁹

(a) The bursting into consciousness of an unconsciously repressed complex.

In the first of these we find that conversion takes place when the subject is unaware of any preparation for the change. It comes about as the result of "a sudden irruption into consciousness of a complex⁵⁰ which had been thrust into the unconscious by repression."⁵¹ This repression may be so complete that the repressed matter becomes entirely unknown to the conscious mind.

This was especially true in the case of the Apostle Paul, whose conversion furnishes an excellent example of this type. Before his conversion he possessed a dominating Pharisee-complex. When he

first had real contact with the Christian faith - perhaps at the stoning of Stephen - a Christian-complex began to develop. Since this was antagonistic to his training and beliefs, a very painful conflict resulted, during which the newer complex was repressed into the unconscious. But the complex still continued to manifest itself and developed an energy which found its expression in Paul's persecution of the Christians. Although unconsciously as far as the apostle was concerned the intruding complex was gaining strength. Finally it won out.

"In a state of tension, the apostle journeyed to Damascus, and on the way thither the power of the Pharisee-complex to resist the Christian-complex reached its limits. An explosive change took place in which the Christian-complex rose from its burial in the unconscious and became the dominant factor on the the conscious life of Paul." (52)

The same elements have entered in the case of many other individuals. When a complex has been repressed into the unconscious - whether the individual has consciously or unconsciously repressed it - it will continue to plague, piling up psychic energy which must eventually find expression in one of two ways, either in some pathological state, or in a complete rearrangement of the complexes. If complete "unification of personality" is to be obtained this new and satisfactory orientation must take place.⁵³

Furthermore, the actual outbreak of the repressed complex into consciousness may come when its development is complete, as in Paul's case, or again it may be helped by an external event.⁵⁴ Al-

though the individual may exhibit no religious leanings at the time of his conversion there is reason to postulate that at some point in his career he has been so influenced.⁵⁵

(b) Resolving of a conflict between two lines of conduct.

Again conversion may be the result of the resolving of a conflict between two conflicting lines of conduct. When the individual "unifies his personality" by rejecting the one line of conduct and accepting the other conversion may be said to have taken place.⁵⁶

An excellent example of this type of conversion is the case of Augustine who was torn between two major complexes - the religious and the sexual. As A. C. Underwood has shown⁵⁷ it is easy to trace the development of each of these conflicting complexes. The religious-complex received its first impetus from certain impressions which he had received from his mother; it was strengthened by his study of philosophy, his grief at the death of a friend, and by a serious illness with which he was afflicted. The sex-complex is just as easy to trace. It began in his dissipations while a student at Carthage, was furthered by his life with a mistress who bore him a son, and whom he put away in order to make an advantageous marriage. In this way complexes were built up and Augustine has revealed to us in his Confessions how acute was the conflict.

In vain Augustine sought to resolve the conflict. Finally an outside influence provided the impetus for the resolution. While in the garden of his lodging seeking to resolve the conflict, weeping in bitter contrition, he heard a voice "as of a boy or girl"

chanting, "Take up and read; take up and read."⁵⁸ Opening the codex of the Apostle Paul, by chance his eye fell on the passage: "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh."⁵⁹ Immediately the conflict resolved itself and he made a personal surrender of his life to God.⁶⁰

But while Augustine had the help of an external stimulus there are individuals who experience a conversion of this type without the help of any such stimulus. The conversion of the American revivalist, C. G. Finney is a classic example.⁶¹ A most interesting contemporary example is the conversion of the English missionary, C. F. Andrews, who has been such a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi. Like C. G. Finney, C. F. Andrews came to a conviction of his wicked life, and was faced with the alternatives of continuing in sin or living a more Christlike life. Through struggle he arrived at a decision which resolved his conflict in favor of Christianity. He thus describes his conversion experience:

"My conscious active life, as a Christian, began when I was eighteen years old. At that time I was growing indifferent to all religion and falling into sins which would soon have wrecked my moral character altogether. I was saved by Christ from that death of sin.

One night, as I knelt down to pray, there came upon me an overwhelming sense of God's Holy Presence near me, and at the same time a knowledge of my own evil life. I cried out, 'Unclean, unclean!'

For hours of agony all was dark and full of horror to me. At last, long after midnight, I was conscious of a divine peace. The voice of Christ seemed to bring me forgiveness and love, in place of darkness and despair."⁽⁶²⁾

The conflict ended and C. F. Andrews found himself possessed of personality freed from these conflicts. "Thus only after long mental agony, and without the help of any from without, was he able to make the choice which made the Christian-complex the governing one in his life."⁶³

In both of the cases mentioned above the individuals involved resolved their difficulties by their own volition. Their experiences can be defined as of the Volitional type. In distinction to them, however, there are individuals who find it impossible to bring their conflicts to an end of their own volition; the conflicts can only be resolved through the surrender of all effort. Their experience is referred to as one of Self-surrender.

It is always characteristic of the self-surrender experience that the individual faced with a conflict finds strenuous endeavor worse than useless in resolving the conflict. The conflict is resolved only when the subject relaxes all effort. Hundreds of cases of this type bear witness to the efficacy of this method.

But what of the psychology back of it? How is the conflict resolved by ignoring the struggle? The answer is found in the analysis of two statements: (1) the reasons why voluntary effort defeats itself; and (2) why the surrender of effort accomplishes what volition fails to do.⁶⁴

In regard to the first of these the individual seeking to secure a "unified personality" is continually faced by the fact that every time he makes a voluntary effort to escape his "disorganized self" he calls forth the spontaneous suggestion that he cannot escape

such disorganization. This suggestion tends to realize itself in conduct. Moreover, the will and the imagination being at war, the imagination gains the day.⁶⁵ Hence each fruitless attempt at self-organization makes it more difficult to bring that organization about, for the memory of past lapses and fruitless resolves give impetus to the suggestion that success is impossible of achievement.

The explanation of the second statement seems to be that when the negative suggestion has been banished, the mind of the individual is taken up with the thoughts of the one to whom surrender is made. Instead of suggestions for failure the individual is obsessed with the idea that "God is on His side" and so failure is impossible. This suggestion of power releases psychic energy that the will has been impotent to stir so long as the negative suggestion of inability operated.⁶⁶

(c) Clearing up a blurred complex.

Finally, conversion may take place when an hitherto blurred and indefinite religious-complex becomes closely knit and sharply defined. This comes about as the result of subconscious incubation and may take place gradually, or may be due to the precipitation by some outside event. A. C. Underwood shows⁶⁷ that this was the type of conversion which Gotama Buddha experienced. He was familiar with a number of different religious systems, put forward by various teachers. Through patient meditation and inquiry he was able to build up a new conception of his own which finally became so sharply defined as to dominate his whole being.

"Similar is the case of a group of lawyers converted by Finney. They had been brought up as Christian men. Some of them held office in their church, but they needed the revivalist's teaching about the plan of salvation to make their Christian-complex clear and definite. The preaching of the early Christian missionaries did much the same thing for Cornelius, the Ethiopian eunuch, and Lydia." (68)

B. Conversion under the impetus of a revival.

(1) Only one type of conversion stressed in revivals.

Revival preaching and the mechanism of revivals have always been used with only one purpose in mind, the production of conversion on the part of those to whom the appeal is made. But that conversion can be of only one type - "a cataclysmic one."

As a general rule this type of conversion has been experienced by the revivalist, and naturally he looks upon it as the only kind of conversion that is genuine. Having obtained his salvation at a great price, he is suspicious of those who claim to have come into possession of it in a less costly way. This attitude was evident in the Welsh revival when those who had not gone through the experience of a cataclysmic conversion were looked upon with suspicion.

"'You are a Christian,' they said, 'and have not been convulsed?' 'You are a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, and have not been plunged into the abyss of despair?' 'You a branch of the True Vine, and have not been swayed and tossed by the mighty rushing wind?'" (69)

The converts who had experienced "genuine" conversion questioned the genuineness of the experience of those who had come into the Kingdom by another door.

Revivalism has stressed one specific conversion procedure

to such an extent as to codify it and make it the stereotyped, and accepted method.

"In spite of the unquestionable fact that saints of the once-born type exist, that there may be a gradual growth in holiness without a cataclysm; in spite of the obvious leakage (one may say) of much mere natural goodness into the scheme of salvation; revivalism has always assumed that only its type of religious experience can be perfect; you must be nailed on the cross of natural despair and agony, and then in the twinkling of an eye be miraculously released." (70)

This has resulted in people's seeking to conform to the experience that was pointed out to them. Consequently, under the power of suggestion and imitation, they have tended to meet the requirements laid out for them, selecting certain elements and rejecting others in keeping with the instruction, appeal and example which has been presented. However, in many cases the individuals finding it impossible to attain to the type of experience recommended have given themselves up to morbid, confused, and negative reactions.⁷¹

(2) Revival conversion and its expression.

(a) The motives behind revival conversions.

This leads us quite naturally to a study of the motives behind revival conversions. Just why do people seek to experience this process?

(1) The motives as listed by E. D. Starbuck.

For actual data we are compelled to have recourse to E. D. Starbuck⁷², the only psychologist who has made an actual statistical study.⁷³ Consider for example the following table:

Motive	Percentage
1. Fear of Death and Hell.	14
2. Other Self-Regarding Motives	6
3. Altruistic Motives.	5
4. Following out a Moral Ideal	15
5. Remorse, Conviction of Sin.	14
6. Response to Teaching.	8
7. Example, Imitation.	15
8. Social Pressure	23(74)

One could wish that Starbuck had been more specific in the listing of motives. To know just what self-regarding motives other than fear operated would be valuable information; and the same could apply to those motives merely listed as "altruistic". Nevertheless, his findings are of interest as indicating certain trends.

(2) Other motives

G. B. Cutten declares that the revival form of presentation of the gospel "was that of magnification of sin and the terrible results to the sinner."⁷⁵ Hence many people were motivated by a desire to escape the dread consequences of sin. That fear played an important part in many of the early revivals has been previously demonstrated.⁷⁶ In certain revivals, however, this motive has had little place. A. T. Fryer tells us that in the recent Welsh revival the motive was love. The same may be said in the main concerning the revivals under D. L. Moody.

Another very common motive is that of imitation. The power of this has been stressed before and will receive further emphasis. Through the urge of the crowd individuals are stirred by a desire to do what others are doing. So motivated they seek conversion.

Somewhat akin to this is the motivation furnished by group pressure. In a revival the type of conversion advocated by the revivalist is also stressed by the audience. As was shown earlier in the study,⁷⁷ group pressure is brought to bear upon the person who has not experienced such a conversion. In more recent revivals this is made especially effective by having the people stand who have experienced revival conversion.

Furthermore, there are motives to conversion in revivals of which E. D. Starbuck makes no mention. These are essentially the same as the human wishes which W. I. Thomas enunciated.⁷⁸ These are (1) the desire for new experience; (2) the desire for security; (3) the desire for response; and (4) the desire for recognition.

Briefly, some people seek the conversion experience in revivals because it presents to them an opportunity to enjoy a new experience.

Others wish to be saved in order to have a sense of security. Once relieved of their burden of sin they can rest secure in the knowledge that they are free from the wiles of Satan and his wickedness.

Some individuals, on the other hand, desire the response that will come to them from others when they have accepted the teachings of the revivalist and have made that fact evident by experiencing the conversion which he advocates.

Finally, some seek conversion as an opportunity for recognition. It is a chance to rise above their own poor level, to be the object of the admiring gaze of all their friends and associates.

The writer realizes that some of these motives enter into the conversion process taking place apart from the revival milieu, but it is under the impetus of the revival that they are most likely to find expression.

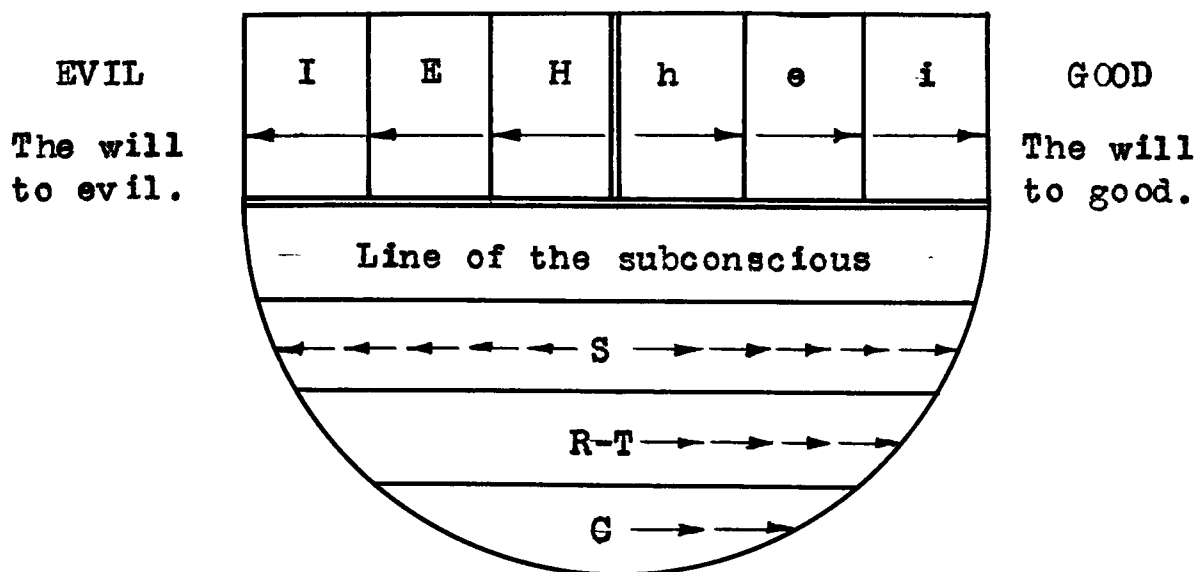
(b) The actual conversion process in a revival.

Just what does happen within the individual when he undergoes the conversion process during a revival? Can we look at the soul in process? Can we watch its movements as a scientist is able to watch the movements of a living organism? Naturally psychology has decided limitations in this respect. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that our knowledge of psychological processes has progressed to the point where some schematic representation of the process can be made. With that in mind let us graphically consider the soul before, during, and after conversion in a revival.⁷⁹

The soul before conversion may be represented by the following chart:

CHART 1

The Soul Before Conversion



In this chart the capital letters at the left "I", "E", and "H" represent the Intellectual, Environmental, and Hereditary elements in an individual's personality which are on the side of evil. The lower case letters at the right "h", "e", and "i" represent similar elements which incline toward goodness. Thus, if the first preponderate, there will be a bias toward evil on the part of the soul as indicated by the arrows; in other words we shall have represented a "sick soul". Conversely, if the bias is toward good, the soul will be one moving toward spiritual health.

However, it is not enough merely to consider the elements of the conscious life; the sub-conscious must also be taken into account. The soul, we have been told can be compared to an iceberg, only a small portion of which is evident, a great deal being below the surface. With this in mind the chart is made to include certain subliminal elements.

Exceedingly prominent among these in revivals, as has been previously stressed is Suggestibility or Impulsiveness, so strongly marked in the movements of the crowd.⁸⁰ This element is represented in the chart by an "S", being placed at the very top of the various subliminal elements.

Now, as was stated before, in most cases of conversion we find that the individual has previously been exposed to religious teaching ~~an~~ some form of religious influence. These, although instilled in youth, and long ago overlaid with other emphases, and seemingly forgotten, are not. They are still retained in a dim half-

conscious way in the memory. These are represented in the chart by the section of the subconscious designated by the letters "R-T". This section is naturally placed deeper in the subconscious than Impulse "S" as it consists of something more permanent and deeper in its influence upon the individual soul.

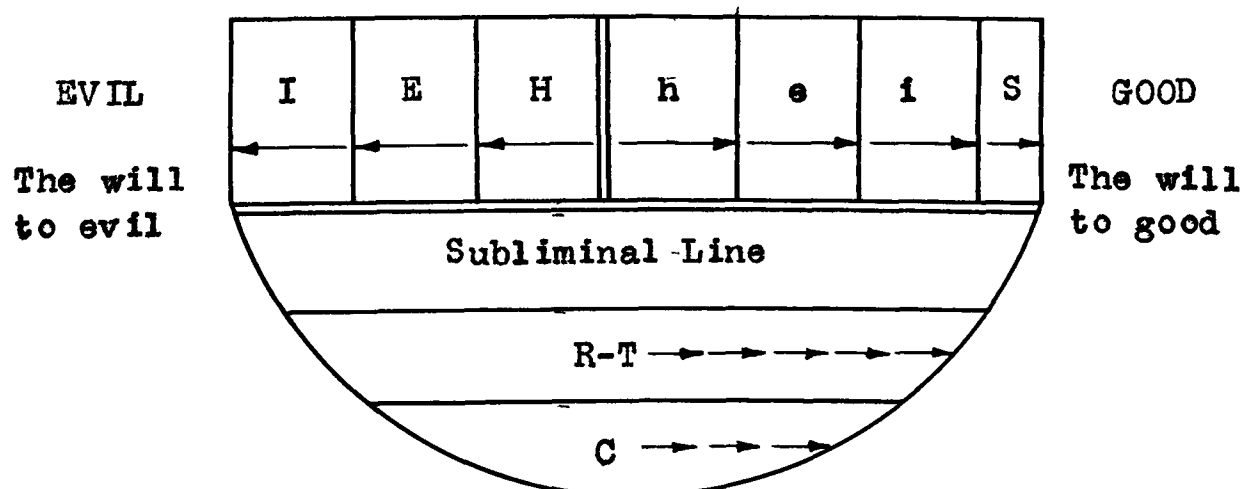
Still deeper in the subconscious is Conscience, designated as "C".⁸¹ Thus we have a picture of the soul before conversion.

It can be seen from the figure (Chart 1) that the arrow-heads in the section marked "S", - suggestibility, or openness to Impulse - are pointing in both directions. This is the correct way to designate them since they have no bias either in one direction or the other. Those in Religious Training ("R-T") and Conscience ("C") are pointed toward the good as that is their basic direction although they may be so buried in the sub-conscious as perhaps not to be wielding any direct influence.

Now let us look at the soul when experiencing conversion under the superficial influence of a revival.

CHART 2

The Soul Under Superficial Revival



Under the influence of this type of revival the impulsive tract is stirred into activity and "explodes" into the conscious life, with a strong direction toward good. However, in most cases the impulse thus felt goes no deeper into the subconscious. The elements of Religious Training and Conscience being too deeply buried or too poorly educated there comes from them nothing of spiritual value. Hence we have the condition of the soul which can be described by only one term, that of "shallowness". The awakening which has resulted has been but superficial.

Many are deceived by the fact that the soul is carried away from the side of evil towards that of good. This process has been accomplished under the influence of the impulse provided by an arousal of the emotions, the magnetic influence of the crowd, etc. And what many fail to see is that the deeper factors necessary to complete stabilization have been untouched.

Jesus pointed out the fallacy of such a conversion in his "Parable of the Soils". "Because it has no root, it withers away."⁸² So when the revival is over and emotion has subsided, the impulsive factors tend to resume their former place in the subconscious.

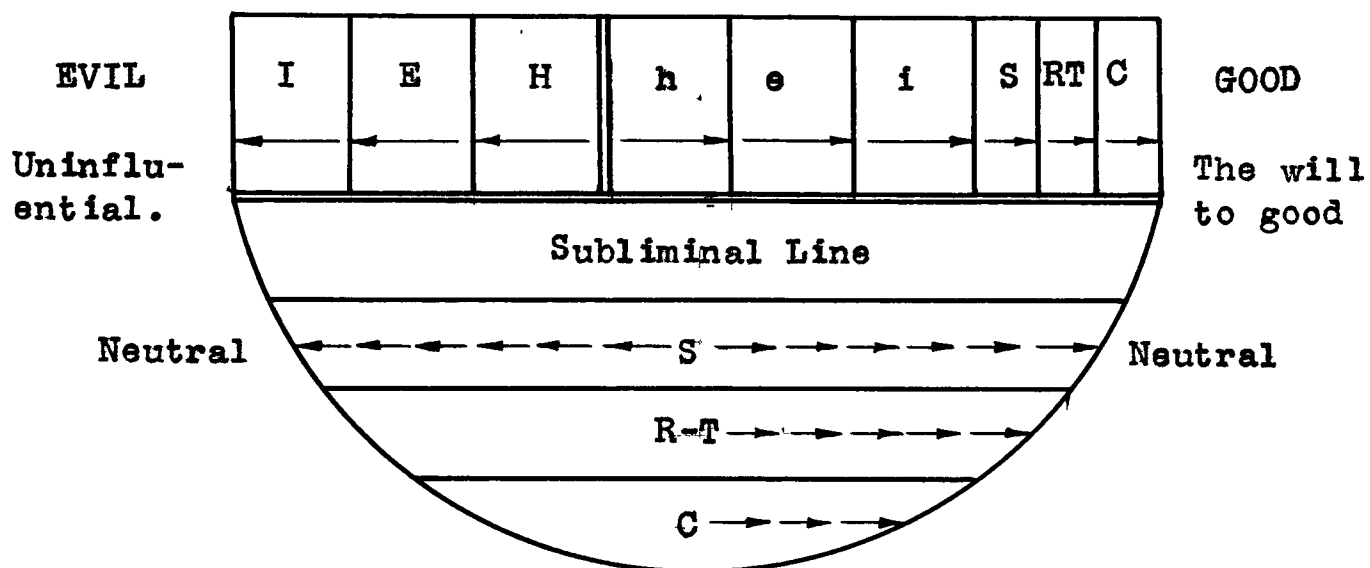
In distinction to this it may be well to consider a chart of the soul after having undergone a genuine conversion.

In this case (See Chart 3 on following page) we have the individual exposed to religious influences which appeal to the mind and to the will. The appeal is not to the emotions, but to all parts of his nature. Under such teaching there is an arousal of the conscience, which in causing a desire for "unification" lays hold of

the factors of religious knowledge and training which have been relegated to the unconscious. When the uprush from the subconscious takes place, it is an uprush of forces from all sections of that subconscious; so that we have them now lending their influence toward good in the conscious life. As a result there is a preponderance of influence in favor of good.

CHART 3

The Soul After a Genuine Conversion.



But that is not all. When the time comes that the impulsive factors involved in that uprush tend to return to the subconscious, the tendency to goodness continues to be buoyed up by the stabilizing presence of the conscience and religious training, both of which exert greater and greater influence as the individual, now in a church environment continues to receive religious nurture and instruction.

(3) Permanency of revival conversions.

We cannot read any account of revivals without hearing of

the many who have been saved. But as scientists we must ask, "Were these individuals saved permanently?"⁸³

(a) Factors making for permanency.

Of the converts in revivals a few - and usually only a very few - having experienced a genuine conversion, retain a permanent religious interest throughout life. Who are these individuals? According to W. K. Wright "they are nearly always persons who have grown up in religious surroundings and probably have been in such surroundings recently, so that they have well-developed sub-conscious religious sentiments."⁸⁴ Such people experience genuine conversion because they have been prepared for it.⁸⁵ In such cases the revival furnishes a stimulus which results in forcing the subconscious elements into consciousness, an experience which would have taken place, but more gradually under saner religious guidance.

(b) Factors making for lapsing.

As was suggested previously in the chapter, the reason that so many revival converts fail to stand fast is that their conversion has been on a purely emotional plane. This emotion is evanescent, with nothing in it of the spiritual and the holy. Jonathan Edwards recognized that such emotion can not be expected to make for permanency. One cannot look for true conversion where the deeper elements of the soul have not been touched. Jonathan Edwards says:

"Holy affections are not heat without light, but evermore arise from some information of the understanding, some spiritual instruction that the mind receives, some light or

natural knowledge. The child of God is graciously affected because he sees and understands something more of divine things than he did before, more of God or Christ, and of the glorious things exhibited in the Gospel. He has a clearer and better view than he had before, when he was not affected, either he receives some new understanding of divine things, or has his former knowledge renewed after the view was decayed. . . . Knowledge is the key that first opens the hard heart, enlarges the affections, and opens the way for men into the Kingdom of Heaven." (86)

The basic explanation of the impermanency of revival conversions is that they are in reality pseudo-conversions. This is true because the appeal is to the emotions rather than to the whole being of the individual. In genuine conversion "emotion, intellect, and will are all concerned, and a religious awakening in which the first named alone is operative is not likely to be very useful or lasting."⁸⁷

What do statistics show concerning the permanency of conversions of those who have claimed conversion during revivals? While it would be unfair to say that all who experience conversion could be expected to become active church members, it is fair to say that we would naturally expect those who had received new religious impetus to seek continual nourishment by alignment with a church. What we do find is that of those who do so align themselves after a revival conversion experience, many have a tendency to rapidly fall away. T. R. Williams tell us: "In a Midland town . . . a great Mission (revival) wound up with the triumphant declaration of 500 converts. In three months, thirty ministers, after due investigation, declared that these had melted away."⁸⁸

In an attempt to get at actual figures on this matter of the permanency of revival conversions E. D. Starbuck studied them in comparison with conversions which had taken place in a non-revival milieu. Although the number of people considered was small, his table is none the less enlightening as indicating a trend.

				Of full members.	
Method	Number received	Dropped before 6 weeks	Received as full members	Relapsed since entrance	Now in good standing
Converts in revival meetings conducted by a professional revivalist	92	62	30	15	12
Converts in regular church work (at home, S. School, etc.)	68	16	52	10	41 (89)

Another cause for the lapsing of revival converts is the fact that they find it impossible to make the necessary transfer from the highly emotional revival milieu to the less-emotional church life. The whole being has become attuned to the tempo of the revival and anything short of that is insufficient for their needs. Hence when that is not provided they relapse.

Thus we find individuals who continually seek to go through the process of revival conversion. Having experienced its emotional thrill, they desire it again and again.⁹⁰ Many times the motive back of the process is not even so definite.⁹¹

C. Evaluation of the revival as a character building agency.

Although this will be dealt with at greater length in a later chapter⁹² it seems well to point out now that in the main the revival can not be considered a character building agency. That genuine conversions sometimes take place under the impetus of a revival cannot be denied. That some religious leaders have been discovered in revivals is again not open to doubt. But by and large, "the run of the mill" of reported revival converts do not attain to that high quality of Christian character which the church has sought to produce. Such character is not produced by an appeal to a segment of man's being. Personality can only be brought to its high point when all factors are involved in the process. A man must learn how to be better, he must want to be better, and he must will to be better before he can attain to the full stature of Christian manhood. The verdict of history is that on the whole the technique of the revival is not such as to produce personality that can be measured by so high a standard.

NOTES

Chapter VI.

1. The nature of religion, p. 43
2. No student of religious psychology can dare to overlook some of the older classic studies of salvation. Although couched in the thought patterns of another theological era they still present basically valuable psychological principles. Cf. P. Doddridge: The rise and progress of religion in the soul, etc.; J. Alleine: An alarm to unconverted sinners, etc.; W. Guthrie: The Christian's great interest.
3. Members of the American School are to be given credit for first centering attention "upon the convert as the most instructive if not the most important of the religious subjects." W. P. Paterson: op. cit. p. 44. It was only natural, then, that the matter of conversion should be given thorough study. See E. D. Starbuck: P. R. (1899), W. James: V. R. E. (1902); G. A. Coe: The spiritual life, (1900); Ibid: The psychology of religion, (1916). Other excellent studies have been made, some by American and some by British authors. See E. A. Annett: Conversion in India, (1920); A. T. Guttery: Christian conversion, (1920); W. B. Selbie: The psychology of religion, (1924); A. C. Underwood: C. C. N. C. (1925); E. T. Clark: P. R. A. (1929); L. W. Lang: A study of conversion, (1931). A work by an Oriental, K. Katsuji is an excellent study. See his: The psychology of oriental religious experience.
4. See previous note.
5. I realize that conversion is a complex phenomenon, a complete study of which would embrace a great many points. For a most excellent listing of these necessary points see W. P. Paterson: op. cit. pp. 44-45. In addition such factors as sex, temperament, and race would have to be considered. On the bearing of temperament see J. Stalker: Christian psychology, pp. 258-260; A. F. Shand: The foundations of character, pp. 146-147; J. Du Buy: Four types of Protestants, Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. and Educ. - Vol. 3 - (1908) - pp. 165-209
6. According to some psychologists the term can only be applied to "the more sudden, intense, and extreme emotional experience," Cf. E. S. Ames: Psychology of religious experience, p. 257, while others refer to it as "the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right, superior, and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities." W. James: op. cit. p. 189
7. F. Granger: The soul of a Christian, p. 77

8. H. Ellis: Man and woman, p. 292
9. A. Bain: Emotions and the will, p. 453. Quoted by G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. p. 237
10. E. D. Starbuck: op. cit. p. 156
11. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 254
12. W. M. Mackay: D. R. S. p. 143
13. W. R. Matthews: The psychological approach to religion, p. 41
14. For a most excellent discussion of "The Organized Self" see J. A. Hadfield: Psychology and morals, pp. 66-69. The diagram which he presents (p. 68) is especially worthy of careful study.
15. W. R. Matthews: op. cit. p. 46
16. J. E. Kuizenga: A larger view of conversion, Bibliotheca Sacra - Vol. 84 - (1927) - p. 400
17. G. A. Coe: Psychology of Religion, p. 173. This experience has the following marks: (1) The subject's very self seems to be profoundly changed; (2) This change seems not to be wrought by the subject but upon him; (3) The sphere of the change is the attitudes that constitute one's character or mode of life; (4) The change includes a sense of attaining to a higher life, or to emancipation or enlargement of the self. Ibid: p. 153
18. op. cit. passim.
19. Thus we have one writer considering the topic "Gradual Growth and Conversion Compared," C. C. Josey: The psychology of religion, p. 206ff.; while another compares "Normal Religious Development" and "Conversion," E. S. Ames: op. cit. Chap. 13 and 14.
20. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 190. L. G. Rohrbaugh has advanced the theory that sudden conversion or gradual growth are dependent upon the condition of the neural mechanism of individuals. Thus "the person whose end-brushes and dendrites intermesh in a characteristically good fashion, thus making light contacts at the synapses, will naturally be quick, dynamic, impulsive, etc., hence given to sudden conversion. The science of religion, pp. 145-150.

One flaw in his reasoning seems to the writer to be the fact that certain individuals who have experienced a sudden conversion and have lapsed, have later, under sane teaching, experienced gradual growth into Christian living.

21. An excellent example of this type of conversion is that of Dr. Edward Everett Hale; reported by E. D. Starbuck: op. cit. pp. 305-306. Count Zinzendorf furnishes another good example. "When Count Zinzendorf assured the Moravian Church that he could not tell the day when he first decided for Christ, and had no knowledge of a time when he did not love Him, he raised within the minds of the brethren, the most serious misgivings. But he stood by his assertion that he had had no experience of a change such as they desiderated. And many thousands before and since have asserted the same." G. Steven: P. C. S. pp. 159-160
22. Some very excellent studies have been made. See R. Allier: La psychologie de la conversion chez les peuples non-civilizes; J. Warneck: Living forces of the gospel; A. C. Underwood: op. cit.; E. A. Annett: op. cit.
23. For an excellent discussion of this see S. G. Dimond; P. M. R. pp. 169-170
24. C. W. Loosmore: Ourselves and our emotions, p. 33
25. For an excellent discussion of these various types see A. C. Underwood: op. cit. pp. 146-148. It is to be understood, of course, that this classification does not mean that the various parts of the personality are mutually exclusive. It is also true that more than one element may enter into the conversion process. Thus emotion might enter into a moral conversion, and the intellect and the will do enter in to religious conversion at its best. On the whole, however, the phase designated is predominant.
26. J. S. Mill: Autobiography, Chap. 5. Quoted by G. Steven: op. cit. p. 144
27. J. S. Mill: loc. cit. Quoted by G. Steven: op. cit. pp. 144-145
28. G. Steven: op. cit. p. 146
29. Ibid: loc. cit.
30. Book 2 - Chap. 7. We are told that the actual change came over Carlyle while traversing Leith Walk, after three weeks of sleeplessness, and it actually meant a change from a suicidal mood of despair to what Carlyle himself elsewhere called "an immense victory in which all temporal evil was transient and insignificant." Quintus Quiz: (Pseud.) Spectacular conversions, Christian Century, Vol. 49 - (1932) - p. 666
31. G. Steven: op. cit. p. 156
32. For two excellent examples see the cases of "Swearing Tom" and Brownlow North. Quoted by R. H. Thouless: I. P. R. pp. 192-195

33. N. Kerr: Alcoholism and drug habit, Twentieth Century Practice, an International Encyclopedia of Modern Medical Science - p. 58
For an excellent study of such a temperance revival see Father Augustine: Theobald Mathew; apostle of temperance, Catholic Encyclopedia - Vol. 10 - p. 47-48
34. "Were it desirable, the Church could eclipse the patent medicine advertisers with the thousands of testimonials which might be produced by alcoholics cured by religious conversion. In speaking of cures, reference is not made to those whose abstinence dates from a month or a year previous, but to those who have been cured for decades." G. B. Cutten: The psychology of alcoholism, p. 451. Wm. James bears this testimony: "The only radical remedy I know for dipsomania is religiomania," is a saying I have heard quoted from some medical man." op. cit. p. 268 note 1.
35. G. Steven: op. cit. p. 187
36. To the mind of the writer this has been the point where many writers on the subject have failed to present a true picture. Thus J. H. Leuba in his Psychological Study of Religion almost removes the thought of God from conversion altogether, and would make it the attaining of a unity within the moral sense.
37. E. S. Conklin: The psychology of religious adjustment, p. 110
38. For a general introduction to these theories I am indebted to E. S. Conklin: op. cit., pp. 111-120
39. G. S. Hall: Adolescence, etc. Chap. 13-14
40. For examples of such religious practices see A. H. Daniels: The new life, etc. Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 6 - (1893-1895) - p. 61ff.
41. The basis of this theory is found in the phrase, "Ontogeny repeats phylogeny." In other words, the theory holds, "That the changes or stages through which the individual passes in both prenatal and postnatal development rehearse the stages of the evolution of the race, because of some intrinsic determination." For excellent critical considerations of this theory see P. E. Davidson: The recapitulation theory and human infancy, and G. A. Coe: A social theory of religious education, pp. 148-156
42. For a listing of these similarities see G. S. Hall: op. cit. Vol. 2 - pp. 295-301.
43. Adventures of the Christian soul, p. 60 (The italics are mine)

44. op. cit.
45. Religious conversion, Chap. 4
46. For examples of some of these see B. W. Brotherson: Religion and instinct, J. of. Rel. - Vol. 4 - (1924) - pp. 504-521; J. K. Saunders: op. cit. pp. 62-63; G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. p. 242ff.
47. E. S. Conklin: op. cit. p. 118. See also G. Steven: op. cit. p. 162ff.
48. The philosophical aspects of mysticism. (Lectures delivered at the Scottish Congregational Theological Hall - 1930-31)
49. For this classification and the general outline of the discussion which follows the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to A. C. Underwood: op. cit. pp. 176-190
50. For the sake of clarity I accept the definition of "complex" provided by A. G. Tansley. He defines a complex as any "well-defined system of ideas and emotions created in the mind by the play of experience upon the primary forces of the mind - the instincts." The new psychology, p. 178
51. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 178
52. Ibid: loc. cit.
53. Ibid: op. cit. p. 179 note 1, points out that this process is not essentially different from James's explanation of it as a change in the habitual center of a man's personal energy. The doctrine of complexes merely enables us to work it out more precisely. Cf. Wm. James: op. cit. p. 196ff.
54. For an example of the latter see the story of the conversion of Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj. Reported by A. C. Underwood: p. 179
55. The following anecdote illustrates this admirably. "Once in an American Church, the clergyman, yielding to some sudden impulse, recited, much to the scandal and indignation of his congregation, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade.' Some days later a man called on him, and said, 'Sir, I am one of the survivors of the Balaclava charge. I have led a wild, bad life, and haven't been near a church till, by accident and from curiosity, I went into your church last Sunday. I heard you recite that great poem and it has changed my life; I shall never disgrace my cloth again.'" G. Jackson: The fact of conversion, p. 125. Quoted by A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 180. A. C. Underwood points out that this man had doubtless received many religious impressions in childhood

and youth, and even in his manhood had continued to receive them, for he lived in a Christian land. When he went to church, he was led there, so we may believe, by the influence of a religious-complex, of which he was unconscious because it had been repressed.

56. It must be kept in mind, however, that to reject one line of conduct is only to deal with certain factors and to leave the process incomplete; completion results only when there is a realignment of the remaining factors.
57. op. cit. p. 180
58. Tolle lege; tolle lege.
59. Romans 13:13-14
60. For an excellent study of Augustine's conversion see R. H. Thouless: op. cit. pp. 197-201. It seems well, however, to append the following note with which we are in absolute agreement. "He (R. H. Thouless) speaks of Augustine's religious-complex bursting into consciousness at the moment of conversion, but surely, what we have here is not a conflict between a complex in consciousness and another repressed into the unconscious, but an acute conflict between two complexes both present to consciousness. Nor can I follow Thouless in making Augustine's conversion primarily an intellectual one. It is much more likely that the great African's intellectual difficulties were what the New Psychology calls a rationalization of the conflict between his moral and religious ideals and his unclean life. Thouless recognizes this alternative, but rejects it. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 181 - note 3
61. See Wm. James: op. cit. p. 207. For C. G. Finney's own version see his Autobiography, Chap. 1-2.
62. Why I am a Christian, Federal Council Bulletin - Vol. 14 - No. 9 - (1931) - p. 9
63. A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 184
64. For this approach I am indebted to A. C. Underwood: loc. cit.
65. Cf. C. Baudouin: Suggestion and autosuggestion, p. 125. This is the Law of Reversed Effort, as formulated by the New Nancy School. Stated fully it is: "When an idea imposes itself on the mind to such an extent as to give rise to a suggestion, all the conscious efforts which the subject makes in order to counteract this suggestion are not merely without the desired effect, but they actually run counter to the subject's conscious wishes and tend to intensify the suggestion." Ibid: p. 116

66. For excellent studies of self-surrender cases see those of Bunyan and Brainard as dealt with by Wm. James: op. cit. pp. 212, 253; 157, 160; and R. H. Thouless: op. cit. pp. 53ff.
67. op. cit. p. 189
68. Ibid: loc. cit.
69. V. J. Morgan: W. R. R. pp. 194-195
70. Wm. James: op. cit. p. 228
71. Thus G. A. Coe says: "Christian experience has refused to be standardized. The attempt to standardize it has plunged multitudes of young people into confusion, and it has separated them from churches with which they would naturally affiliate." What is Christian education, pp. 43-44
72. op. cit. pp. 53-55
73. Although many psychologists discuss the motives behind conversion in general, some even presenting statistical studies - for example: E. T. Clark: op. cit., G. A. Coe: The spiritual life. - E. D. Starbuck alone seems to have statistically studied the motives behind revival conversion.
74. Adapted from E. D. Starbuck: op. cit. p. 54 - Table VII - "A comparison of revival and non-revival cases in regard to the motives and forces leading to conversion." It would seem to the writer that the criticism which has been leveled against certain other of E. D. Starbuck's tables might also be leveled against this one. For a discussion of this see W. P. Paterson: op. cit. p. 46ff.
75. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 239
76. Chapter 2 of this thesis.
77. p. 297
78. The unadjusted girl, pp. 4-32. For a complete discussion of the part which these wishes play in the genesis of revivals see Chap. 8 of this thesis - "The Genesis of Revivals"
79. For the whole general scheme of this process the writer is indebted to W. M. Mackay: op. cit. pp. 168-173. His is without doubt the clearest exposition of the process to be found in scholarly literature on revivals.
80. Cf. G. Le Bon: The crowd, passim.

81. W. M. Mackay explains this as follows: "Its (conscience's) mystic authority, ('Conscience, if it had power as it has authority, would rule the world.' - Kant), its independence of merely rational considerations, and its persistent and often unwelcome interference with the actions of the conscious life, all argue a source deeper than that of the senses and the intellect. And, naturally, it is always on the side of good." op. cit. pp. 170-171
82. Matthew 13: 6
83. By this I mean, of course, were these individuals so started on the path toward right living, were their personalities so unified, as to enable them to continue to further unify their personalities from time to time as in the light of new knowledge they realized their need of clearing away the old and re-aligning the elements in the light of new discovery of truth.
84. A students' philosophy of religion, pp. 252-253
85. The testimony of a great many writers is that those who experience genuine conversion in revivals are generally the ones who have been receiving religious instruction in the church.
86. A treatise concerning religious affections, Part 3 - Section iv.
87. W. B. Selbie: The psychology of religion, p. 203
88. The true revival versus Torreyism, p. 7
89. Adapted from E. D. Starbuck: op. cit. p. 170
90. Thus T. R. Williams tells us of certain individuals who were converted in a revival; the same four were converted again by Gipsy Smith, and were in line for conversion under Dr. R. A. Torrey. op. cit. pp. 7-8
91. Dr. Harry Miller told of a woman who went through this experience at one of J. Wilbur Chapman's revivals and explained her action as follows: "They (the revivalist and his chorister) wor such nice young fellows. I did na want to disappoint 'em. I'm taking me son down to be done tonight." Christian Sociology. (Lectures delivered at New College, Edinburgh - 1930-31)
92. Chap. 9 - "Revivals Evaluated"

"'The old time religion is good enough for me,' sing those who most vociferously believe that they believe in revivals. But the religion that they celebrate is not old, as they vainly imagine; measured by the Christian centuries, it is new-fashioned. It does not restore primitive Christianity, much less the religion of Jesus. . . . The overwhelming failure of the revival, even when it succeeds, lies in the fact that it is insufficiently as well as inefficiently Christian. It does not enfranchise personality, but leaves it lacking in creative purpose." - Geo. A. Coe

CHAPTER VII.

MODERN REVIVALISM

A. The rise of modern revivalism.

One of the most colorful chapters in the story of revivals is the contemporary one which continues to be written by the advocates of modern revivalism. By the term - modern revivalism - is meant "the deliberately planned, prepared, and committed revival" which was perhaps in part a conscious outgrowth of the early American camp-meeting.¹

(1) A typically American phenomenon.

Whether or not its origins reach back to the middle of the last century, one finds it difficult to say. However, it received its first tangible form through the work of B. Fay Mills.² The movement reached its high point in the work of William A. Sunday,³ and still continues to be used to some extent by revivalists.⁴ Although now on the decline the movement exerted great force for a number of years. Its growth and influence is best described by such phrases as: "it swept the country," "it spread like wildfire," "it became news," etc.

Although some attempts were made by the advocates of this movement to conduct campaigns in other countries their efforts met in the main with little success. It must be frankly admitted that it is a distinctly American phenomenon. Certain factors in American life tend to explain this.

In the first place the American temperament is volatile.⁵ The emotional Americans have always been very susceptible to the re-

ligious appeal. An excellent witness to this fact is the presence in American of over two hundred religious sects, a fact which Europeans find difficult to understand.⁶ It moreover finds expression in other ways. So J. Collins speaking of this factor in American life says:

"We display this at one time in unpremeditated advocacy of free silver, at another in birth control. We make no preparation for instituting changes that are so radical, fundamental, and far-reaching that no imagination can forecast their effect."

We remain emotional, even though we are less uniformly so than in the eighteenth century, and though we express our emotions in different terms. . . . We can still muster as much emotionalism for a lynching or an 'experience meeting' as Salem did for a witch-burning, or Northampton for the Great Awakening." (7)

Another factor looms up as still more responsible for these movements. This might be characterized as the American ideal of Efficiency. Modern revivalism has been very much a product of America's commercial accomplishments. Revivalism has been capitalized. J. H. Odell says, concerning this emphasis:

"With a capacity trained in commerce we have taken it (revivalism) out of the spasmodic and spontaneous class of phenomena and given it the aspect of a trust, with the rich returns that all trusts tend to produce. . . . The most astute politicians are openly envious and frankly eager to learn the principles by which such vast mass movements are achieved." (8)

To the mind of the writer it is this latter factor in American life which has made the phenomenon distinctly American.⁹

B. The artificial and commercial aspects.

A distinguishing feature of the older revivalism is decid-

edly lacking in modern revivalism. That feature is spontaneity. The older revivalists were devoid of artificial devices for gathering results; there was little plotting, pre-arranging, and staging for effects. The modern revivalist, however, must establish a definite set-up for his campaign.

(1) The magnificent "set-up".

The modern planned campaign as first worked out by B. Fay Mills has been described as follows:

"Months before the meeting began, three committees were set to work, one on Finance to provide the necessary funds, a second on Visitation to divide the city into districts to see that every family was given an invitation to attend the meetings, and a third for the campaign. For the direct work of the same, three additional committees were appointed - one on Advertising to secure the necessary publicity, a Devotional Committee to arrange for daily prayer meetings in all sections of the city, and a Committee of ushers to look after the seating arrangements and to serve as personal workers." (10)

But there were to be others, who, coming after B. F. Mills, and building upon the foundations which he had laid were to develop this technique to lengths which he had not anticipated. It is my purpose to study the technique so developed, mainly through a consideration of the work of Wm. A. Sunday.¹¹

When Mr. Sunday planned an attack upon an American city he did it with all the thoroughness of an ancient general preparing to assault the citadel of the enemy. Before promising to go to any city he had to be assured that all of the churches would co-operate in the

meeting and that the churches would be closed during his campaign. A local committee must underwrite the expenses of the campaign.¹²

A few weeks before the meeting an advance agent was sent to the city to take care of certain preliminary details. A huge tabernacle must be built. Ushers must be trained in the handling of vast¹³ throngs and they must be impressed with the need and nature of personal work.¹⁴ A choir of from five hundred to a thousand voices must be gathered and given certain preliminary drill.

It should be pointed out that the erection of a huge turtle-back tabernacle was of extreme importance to the success of the meeting. While some meetings were held in large halls, to hold them in church buildings would destroy much of the necessary atmosphere. The plea is to "hit the sawdust trail", a plea which has gathered around it all the halo of tradition. It is difficult to "hit the trail" down the carpeted aisles of a church. As well try to have a real circus without "the smell of the tanbark."

The method of erection varied at different places. In some cities where the money could be secured easily the erection of the tabernacle was placed in the hands of a contracting company. In other towns the work was done by the ministers and other volunteer workers.¹⁵

In general construction the tabernacle was usually a large square building constructed of second quality, or even third quality, lumber. The whole exterior was covered with tar paper to exclude drafts.

Inside the building were rows upon rows of wooden benches

for seats all converging toward the massive platform at one end of the building. This platform was usually built up so that the people in the audience would have to look up when watching the antics of the revivalist. The back of the platform was tiered so as to allow for a choir of from five hundred to one thousand. No lectern or pulpit was used. As a general rule, however, there was a stand made of rough lumber which stand the revivalist used as a place on which to lean at time of prayer, etc.

The floor of the tabernacle was covered with a deep layer of sawdust. Heat was provided by the means of massive stoves placed in niches around the building. Electric lights were provided for both day and evening services as not many windows were in evidence throughout the building.¹⁶ The lights were so arranged that those in the body of the tabernacle could be turned out at the will of the revivalist leaving him in a background of glaring light while the audience was in darkness.

(a) A retinue of experts.

When the revivalist arrived all the preliminary details had been cared for and all things were in order for the campaign. And what campaigns they were! The power behind the pulpit was Mrs. Sunday and seventeen secretaries and directors of departments.¹⁷ Not a detail of the campaign was left to chance. Not an exigency but had been foreseen and discounted; not an opportunity for any form of religious work could arise that had not been provided for.¹⁸ On his staff of aides W. A. Sunday had special workers for women, experts

in Bible study, a physical trainer, a pianist, a chorister, a director of noon meetings in mills and factories, and numerous other secretaries.¹⁹

Under the guidance of these experts the work went on apace. During the weeks of the actual campaign "every form of advertisement known to the 'publicity agent' in business or in party politics was employed."²⁰ As far as possible, the audience was gathered, not by separate individuals, but by groups for group appeal. Great delegations from trades and business bodies were urged to parade through the streets with bands and banners, and to march into the hall en masse.²¹

(2) The commercial aspect prominent.

All of these factors tended to make prominent the commercial aspect of the campaign. Serious students of the movement have charged that the interest in large attendance was in part due to the desire to increase the amounts received through collections.

(a) Tremendous cost of the campaigns.

No one can study the figures which have been gathered concerning the cost to the communities of these campaigns without being astounded at the immensity of that cost. Dr. Henry Atkinson, Secretary of the American Peace Union, in a letter to Sir Henry Lunn stated²² that while he (Dr. Atkinson) was minister of a Congregational church in Springfield, Ohio, Mr. Sunday conducted a six-week's campaign in that city. His (Mr. Sunday's) "free-will" offering amounted to \$30,000 (£6,000). His New York city campaign "cost altogether

\$70,000 (£14,000)₂₃, while in a short campaign in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the honorarium alone of the revivalist was \$ 45,000 (£9,000).₂₄

In the light of these facts it was no wonder that great emphasis was put upon collections. There had to be a consistent tinkle in the "pie pan"₂₅ collection plates, as well as the quiet crispness of falling dollar notes.

(1) The salary of the revivalist.

Much emphasis by the revivalist was put upon the free-will offering₂₆ taken up at the end of the campaign. This was his compensation for weeks of strenuous labor. True enough it was not net to him. From it he had to pay one-third of the salaries of his personal helpers, the local committee making up the balance. But these "free-will" offerings were exceedingly generous₂₇, although the revivalist was not always so.₂₈

In addition to salary Mr. Sunday received a recompense in the form of gifts from those interested in the campaign. These were generally many in number, and often times of great value.₂₉

(b) The sale of hymn books and special literature.

While the Sunday campaigns were not responsible for the introduction of commercialism in the matter of the sale of hymn books and special literature₃₀ there is reason to believe that the mercenary side of the use of music reached its high point during his campaigns. H. Rodeheaver, Mr. Sunday's chorister, was interested in a publishing house bearing his name, which printed and sold the

hymn books used in the campaign.³¹

With other modern revivalists this sale of hymn books and literature has proved a "profitable flyer."³² Practically every revivalist has his own hymnal which he urges the people to buy.³³

C. The appeal to sensationalism.

When we turn to the actual conduct of the meeting we find that the main appeal of the revivalist was to sensationalism, and that writ large. One wonders at times whether the main purpose of the meeting was so that the revivalist might display his sensational qualities rather than save souls. This use of the sensational as a means of arousing the emotions was used very deliberately throughout all parts of the meeting.³⁴

(1) The three main parts of the meeting.

The meeting was divided into three main divisions; the first of these being the express prerogative of the song leader; the second, the presentation of the message, the prerogative of the revivalist; the third, "hitting the trail," very much the work of the ushers and personal workers.

(a) The preparatory service.

This part of the meeting was devoted to the task of preparing the people for the coming of the revivalist. During this time the audience must be welded into a psychological mass, their interest and attention fixed in a common direction.³⁵ The group must be transformed into an amiable, like-minded whole. This was the work of the

song leader.³⁶

(1) The use of music.

This "warming up" of a revival audience is best accomplished by the means of music. If all the audience can be induced to sing it is easy to weld them into oneness. Hence the insistence that all sing whether or not they have ever sung before. A former musical director for a popular revivalist reports:

"At the appointed hour we began the services by getting the entire audience to join in singing. I began with any common songs which I thought the people would know. These did not have to be, in fact they seldom were, religious. Rather they were old favorite folksongs of America: 'Old Black Joe,' 'Dixie,' 'My Old Kentucky Home.' In the years of the war and shortly thereafter, 'Tipperary' was popular. Almost any song which every one knew was good. Even romantic or slightly jazzy songs were acceptable at first. The principal idea was to get everybody singing." (37)

Various devices may be used to increase the effectiveness of the singing. One of these is to have one section of the audience vie with others while the leader helps things along. "He nurses it (the audience) along dexterously, watching it keenly, making the women sing one stanza, the men the next, making the people to the left of the center aisle sing against those on the right, making the boys sing a stanza and the girls another, while the whole congregation swings in on the chorus."³⁸

When the song leader had the crowd fully prepared³⁹, he quickly brought the song service to a close and retired allowing the revivalist to take charge.⁴⁰

(b) The presentation of the message.

Without doubt the most consistent use of sensationalism on the part of modern revivalists, and especially of Mr. Sunday, came in the presentation of the message. Here I include the use of bible readings, and prayers, as well as the actual sermon.

(1) The revivalist's use of gymnastics.

Many writers have emphasized the fact that Mr. Sunday was a born actor.⁴¹ The use of the histrionic by Mrs. McPherson, another modern revivalist, has also received great stress.⁴² Practically all of their imitators have been influenced by their preaching methods.

We find that Mr. Sunday made use of sensational gymnastics, at times seeking to make his message pantomimic rather than audible. There can be found no better example of his use of this sensational method than the following description of his antics while presenting his most famous sermon, "Booze".

"He began with his coat, vest, tie, and collar off. In a few moments his shirt and undershirt were gaping open to the waist and the muscles of his neck and chest were seen working like those in the arms of a blacksmith, while perspiration poured from every pore. His clothing was soaked as if a hose had been turned on him.

He strained, and twisted, and reached up and down. Once he was on the floor for just a second, in the attitude of crawling, to show that all crime crawled out of the saloon; then he was on his feet as quickly as a cat could jump. At the end of forty-five minutes he mounted a chair, reached high, as he shouted, then again was on the floor and dropped prostrate to illustrate a story of a drunken man, bounded to his feet again as if steel springs filled that lithe, slender, lightning-like body.

He generally broke a common kitchen chair in this sermon, and this came after a terrible effort, with eyes flashing, face scowling, the picture of hate. He whirled

the chair over his head, smashed the chair to the platform floor, whirled the shattered wreck in the air again, then threw it to the ground in front of the pulpit." (43)

(2) The revivalist's use of slang.

Another aid to sensationalism much used by the revivalist was an appeal to slang. This was part of his expressed desire to reach the common people. Being "a graduate of the college of hard knocks" he seems to have avoided the use of correct English for fear of being considered too "swanky". As a result slang was well-distributed throughout all of his discourses.

(a) Parodies of scripture passages.

Despite his literal interpretation of the Bible even that could not escape being put into slang. George Ade's Fables in Slang appear as examples of Public School English beside some of Mr. Sunday's interpretations.⁴⁴ As an example of his versions I present the following, his interpretation of the story of David and Goliath.

"All of the sons of Jesse except David went off to war; they left David at home because he was only a kid. After a while David's ma got worried. She wondered what had become of his brothers, because they hadn't telephoned her or sent word. So she said to David, 'Dave, you go down there and see whether they are all right.'

So David pikes off (45) to where the war is, and the first morning he was there out comes this big Goliath, a big strapping fellow about eleven feet tall, who commences to shoot off his mouth (46) as to what he was going to do.

'Who's that big stiff (47) putting up that game of talk?' asked David of his brothers.

'Oh, he's the whole works (48); he's the head cheese (48) of the Philistines. He does that little stunt every day.'

'Say,' said David, 'you guys (49) make me sick. Why don't some of you go out and soak (50) that guy? You let

him get away with that stuff?' He decided to go out and tell Goliath where to head in.

So Saul said, 'You'd better take my armor and sword.' David put them on, but he felt like a fellow with a hand-me-down suit (51) about four times too big for him, so he took them off and went down to the brook and picked up a half a dozen stones. He put one of them in his sling, threw it, and soaked Goliath in the coco (52) between the lamps (53), and he went down for the count. David drew his sword and chopped off his block, and the rest of the gang beat it." (54)

Some there are who would question the assertion of W. T. Ellis⁵⁵ that this method of biblical translation enables one to get at "the innermost meaning of the Book itself

(b) Prayers in argot.

The revivalist's use of slang, however, was not confined to Bible reading. Even God must be addressed in the language of the street.⁵⁶ His petitions ran so counter to all religious conceptions of a reverential approach to the throne of grace that even his friends marvelled at the charity of the ministers in allowing him to go unrebuked.⁵⁷

Since he had been a professional baseball player before his conversion, it was natural that he would draw many of his figures of speech from the field of baseball.⁵⁸ Here is one of his prayers in argot replete with figures common to baseball.

"O Lord, there are a lot of people who step up to the collection plate at church and fan. (59) And Lord, there are always people sitting in the grandstand calling the batter a mutt. (60) He can't hit a thing, or he can't get it over the base, or he's an ice wagon (61) on the bases they say. O Lord give us some coachers (62) out of this Tabernacle so that they can be brought home (63)

to you. Some of them are dying on second and third base, Lord, and we don't want that. Lord, have the people play the game of life right up to the limit so that home runs (64) may be scored." (65)

It was not uncommon for Mr. Sunday to break off in the midst of his prayer to ask a question of his song leader. Thus in one meeting he prayed:

"We had a grand meeting last night, Lord, when the crowd come down from Dicksonville (or what was the place, Rody?). Dickson City, Lord, that's right. It was a great crowd." (66)

Examples of this type of prayer could be quoted ad nauseum.⁶⁷

(c) The use of slang in sermons.

His sermons, like his prayers, were liberally punctuated with slang phrases, or perhaps one should say were mainly slang. Hundreds of examples could be quoted. The following quotations from his sermon at the University of Pennsylvania go far to give the lie to those who claim that Mr. Sunday's use of slang was an attempt to speak at the level of his audience. Surely any graduate of the University of Pennsylvania would deny that these phrases were indicative of the level of that institution.

The title of Mr. Sunday's address on that occasion was "Hot Cakes Off the Griddle." In it he portrayed Pilate's wife as:

"One of those miserable, pliable, plastic, two-faced, two-by-four, lick spittle, toot-my-own-horn, sort of women."

Pilate, on the other hand, was described as:

"One of those rat-hole, pin-headed, pliable, stand-pat, free-lunch, pie-counter politicians." (68)

(3) Villification of those who hold views differing from those of the revivalist.

There is reason to believe that much of the villification of those who disagreed with the revivalist was for the sake of sensationalism, as well as from a spirit of animosity. Thus he denounced the clergy, calling them "mutts," "dead-heads," "stiffs," and other opprobrious names. He degraded them and flaunted them in the eyes of his audiences and the communities in which they worked.⁶⁹ He denounced the Higher Critics in the most vitriolic language, and considered an evolutionist anathema. During the war he capitalized the current animosity toward Germany. In one of his prayers, speaking of Germany, he said: "Oh, Lord, damn a country like that. I don't pray for them; the sooner we damn them the better off we are. Prayer couldn't stop this war. Gosh! we've got to use bullets now."⁷⁰

(4) Use of sensationalism in sins attacked.

The sins which the revivalist attacked were those which have been traditionally associated with sensationalism. Fifteen years ago any minister could have increased the attendance at his church by openly attacking the theater, the cinema, card playing, dancing, Sunday sports, etc. Around such foci the preaching of Mr. Sunday revolved. Card playing⁷¹ and theater-going, he considered but a prelude to permanent perdition.⁷² Dancing was "kindergartening for hell."⁷³ The cinema was as "full of rottenness" as the stage,⁷⁴ and

those who indulged in Sunday sports were flirting with spiritual death.

The sensational sins received emphasis. Endlessly the tirade seemed to go on. His preaching as one writer has characterized it was "a sickening, boresome, shamefully unliterary, repetitious tirade against the sins of the flesh - adultery, drunkenness, suicide, wild pleasure, etc."⁷⁵ Sensationalism was indeed writ large.

(c) The challenge of "the saw-dust trail".

As was before stated, the third period of the revival meeting was devoted to an appeal for converts. This was specifically in the hands of the ushers and personal workers, although the song leader, choir, and the revivalist played parts.

Here, too, sensational methods were the order of the day. The pull of the crowd was used to its utmost. Under the wooing effect of sentimental music, and to the insistent calls of the revivalist people "hit the trail." Mr. Collins describes the process as follows:

"The first twenty rows of seats immediately in front of the pulpit are always occupied by reserve ushers, and others connected with the revival. When Mr. Sunday has finished his sermon and concluded with a prayer, he invites those of the audience who feel kindly disposed toward him and toward the cause to come forward and shake hands with him. The occupants of the first rows initiate the movement and communicate to others, and especially to those near them, the most potent of all psychological forces - namely, suggestion and imitation. After they have grasped the evangelist's (revivalist's) hand, or, rather, after he has grasped theirs - for he knows also the power of engendering the feeling of fellowship and comradeship through the virile hand-grip - ushers standing beside and immediately beneath him direct the steady stream of 'trailers' into the

seats that have been vacated by the reserves. There they wait until the handshaking is over and Mr. Sunday obtains from them in very general terms a profession of faith."
(76)

So sensational methods were used to produce sensational results.⁷⁷ Although there is no record that in dealing with the trail hitters "foot-ball tactics" had to be used, the number coming forward was at times so great as to require the concentrated efforts of scores of personal workers. "Without the assistance of the personal-work secretaries the rush forward when the invitation is extended would mean a frantic mob. The recruits have to be formed into line and directed to the pulpit where they take Mr. Sunday's hand. Then they must be guided into the front benches and the name and address and church preference of each secured."⁷⁸

There was no place for the "after-meeting" of D. L. Moody's day. Shaking hands with the revivalist was a sign of conversion. The grain was supposedly ripe for harvest, but the actual harvesting, threshing and winnowing was left for the ministers of the community.⁷⁹

- (2) The reason for the use and the effectiveness of the sensational appeal.⁸⁰

That this appeal is effective in producing the results which the revivalist seeks - getting people to "hit the trail" - cannot be denied. Whether the end justifies the means is a very different question. Why is such an appeal used, and why is it effective? How is this to be explained?⁸¹

- (a) The character of the revivalist reflected in the people he attracts.

Just as a magnet will draw steel and not attract brass, just so the character of the revivalist is reflected in the people which he attracts, and certain qualities in the make-up of the revivalist and the people go far to explain the effectiveness of his appeal.

(1) Infantilism.

To my mind J. Collins has probed to the heart of the matter when he asserts that "the most striking feature of Mr. Sunday's make-up intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually spells what is technically called infantilism."⁸² The law of the physical world that, "Like attracts like," is just as true in the case of modern revivals. An infantile preacher appeals to an infantile audience. But let us look at Mr. Sunday through Mr. Collins' eyes, and see whether his characterization is just.

"He is boastful of his strength, of his prowess, of his possessions, and while boasting disparages the possessions of others. He is extremely distractible. The slightest noise in the audience disturbs him. He is timorous and fearful of beginning a campaign in the enemy's country, but as soon as he finds the enemy is not critical or cruel he becomes as brave as a lion and he roars loudly. He is emotionally very unstable, and goes quickly from tears to laughter without indications of the ordinary effective accompaniments of either. He is irritable, petulant, vindictive, and strenuous or relaxed, reasonable, tractable and submissive. He bears false witness, but without malice or forethought. He assumes to speak authoritatively about matters of which he has no real knowledge. He makes statements which are not founded in fact and which are readily susceptible of disproof. He is submissive to discipline - when it is administered by Mrs. Sunday. He is credulous and readily believes what he is told, providing it is pleasing to him and he wants to believe it. He is at the same time predatory and generous. His

reactions are all of the simplest character. He is incapable of mental or emotional elaboration. He plays and works until he is exhausted and then he lets nature restore him." (83)

As we consider Mr. Sunday's audiences in relation to him we see that the infantilism which he exhibits is evident also in his audiences. They too, are credulous and willing to believe what they are told providing it is pleasing to them, and Mr. Sunday is careful to tell just those things. When he accuses his audience of certain sins those in it who are guilty are infantilish enough to "convince themselves that he is referring to their neighbors and they exalt the accuser, admire his courage, applaud his effort, and regret that they cannot also be articulate. Not to applaud would be to accept guilt and stand convicted."⁸⁴

Again, Mr. Sunday's meetings furnish a means of escape from the drab realities of life. One can compensate for his inferiority-complex by enlisting with Mr. Sunday in the army of the Lord.⁸⁵ The boredom of life melts away when one becomes a member of a like-minded group basking in the sunshine of Mr. Sunday's amiability and Mr. Rodeheaver's geniality.⁸⁶

In the last analysis Mr. Sunday's appeal is effective because his audiences childishly desire to be told how to live rather than desiring to find out for themselves. A considerable proportion of his audience are potentially religious. They have a lukewarm, rather arid faith which they like to have freshened up. They get a feeling of life and reality from Mr. Sunday's vivacity.

"To many of them the only difficulty with the religion of their fathers is that it is embedded in a language and ideas that seem to them antiquated. They do not want to replace the old faith with one that can never lose its freshness; they merely want the flavor of the old one restored, and meanwhile to have it given a modern formulation." (87)

Mr. Sunday has enough skill and talent as a "revivalist" to give new life to old ideas. But "he is not so foolish as to put new wine into old bottles, and he spares no pains to warn his hearers that the old wine is the best."⁸⁸

(3) The use of sensationalism by some of the less prominent revivalists.

Since the heyday of Billy Sunday his methods and technique have been imitated, revised, and enlarged upon by various other modern revivalists. None, however, has been able to create the stir which he did. Nevertheless, it will be well to consider briefly the work of some of his "disciples".

(a) Aimee Semple McPherson.

No chapter on modern revivalism would be complete without some study of Mrs. Aimee Semple McPherson-Hutton, the glorious Aimee of Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, California.⁸⁹ The main outline of her rise is somewhat as follows. She was born on a Canadian farm near Winnipeg. Just when her high school science courses were beginning to fill her eager mind with doubts of the Methodist and Salvation army doctrines in which she had been nurtured, she was wooed and won by a tall young Scotch revivalist, Robert Semple. She went with him to the mission field and was thus taken away from contact with

any but orthodox associates. When her husband's death in China, two years after their marriage, sent her back to America stricken with grief and loneliness, her one solace was to carry on his work.⁹⁰

She began her work preaching on street corners to farmers in overalls. She tells that with her first \$60.00 (£12) she bought a tent.⁹¹ For many years she appeared as a revivalist in many cities with no special success. Finally, however, she settled in California where she established a church and began to attract a great amount of attention.⁹² Before long she had collected enough money to build a magnificent gospel tabernacle (Angelus Temple) and equip it with a wireless transmitting station. As an outgrowth of these she started a new denomination having branches throughout the country, dispensing her "Four-Square Gospel".

While she makes use of many of the tactics of Mr. Sunday, her trump card has been the use of the methods of the theater. Her sermons are dramatized before the eyes of her audience and in every dram she plays a leading role.

"She is playwright, producer, director, and star performer in one; she keeps all her assistants from call-boy to property man up to her leads, on their toes; and in their midst she plays her own role with an abandon that sweeps her hearers by hundred to the altar. . . . Mrs. McPherson has methods all her own. Her Sunday evening service is a complete vaudeville program, entirely new each week, brimful of surprises for the eager who are willing to battle in the throng for entrance. In this show-devouring city (93) no entertainment compares in popularity with that of Angelus Temple; the audience conceded it the best for the money, (or for no money), in town." (94)

Mrs. McPherson is a past master in the art of suggestion.

By telling the old familiar stories, using the old time-worn phrases, she wins to herself the old familiar responses and deepens the grooves of childlike trust and love through which the emotions of her audience flow.⁹⁵ Her appeal is to the infantilism of her audience, but she has reinforced that appeal by all the arts which the theater can afford.⁹⁶ Thus by the means of a highly efficient organization and a primitive gospel,⁹⁷ she appeals to people emotionally primitive, living in a mechanically advanced civilization.⁹⁸

(b) "Headliners on the Tabernacle Circuit."

Following upon the success of Mr. Sunday and Mrs. McPherson a host of lesser lights have arisen to carry the revival fires throughout the country. To record their words and works would require a volume in itself. All of them make great use of the sensational but few have made much impress upon contemporary thought and life.

In the year 1927, however, E. Howard Cadle, the owner and builder of a \$350,000 (£70,000) Gospel Tabernacle in Indianapolis, Indiana was reported to be seeking to promote a \$100,000,000 (£20,000,000) revival tabernacle circuit, modelled after the circuits used by a large chain of theaters in America. He planned to get Mr. Sunday and Mrs. McPherson as headliners.⁹⁹

For some reason or other the circuit never came into being, but scores of revivalists - perhaps seeking to qualify - exploited the tactics of vaudeville for the benefit of the more provincial element of the American population. There arose a host of men - and women, too - from all stations in life¹⁰⁰ seeking to make themselves

leaders in religious promotion. So one author could write:

"There are two twin brothers, who dress alike, shave alike, whose chief attraction lies in their being able to confuse their congregation into a constant guessing contest as to which is one and which is t'other. There is a female evangelist (revivalist) whose piece de resistance is shaking down her luxuriant hair in her earnest physical strenuousness (101), and doing it up again in full view of her congregation - a grotesque vaudeville act. There is a cowboy evangelist (revivalist) who affects long unshorn locks, and whose flannel shirt and shaggy chaps (102) are an attractive part of his 'act'. . . . There is even a 'child' evangelist (revivalist), (103) a precocious youngster of fourteen, who has been taught a certain series of declamations, and whose father travels with him as his manager." (104)

Among the members of this fraternity, sensationalism, from methods₁₀₅ to sermon topics₁₀₆, was, and is, the order of the day.

D. The status of modern revivalism.

Apart from the number of people reported to have "hit the trail" what can be said as to the results of modern revivalism? Are the methods used justified by the results?

(1) Rather mixed results produced.

It is unfair to say that these revivalists have produced nothing but positive harm. Some good has naturally resulted. However, the good produced is small, and difficult to catalog, while the evil effects can readily be seen. In the last analysis our question must be, not, "Are modern revivals evil," but rather, "Is enough good done to compensate for the evil results?"₁₀₇

It seems sufficient at this point to set forth three of the evil results which follow upon these revivals.₁₀₈

First, they bring about a tone of irreverence in the church. In all communities there are some churches which can continue the atmosphere of a modern revival with fair success, but among people of refinement and thoughtfulness, only pain and disillusionment can result from the injection of such methods into their worship.

Secondly, these revivals create an artificial conscience. During the stress of the campaign young people are impressed by the revivalist's denunciation of the coarse sins of the flesh, and pledge themselves against them. After the campaign, however, there is a tendency to try out these "forbidden pleasures" which have been so vividly presented. This tampering with the conscience leads to a lower regard of all sanctions and to a general lowering of ethical tone.

Thirdly, the revivalist tends to leave a trail of intolerance behind him. His railings against Unitarians, Universalists, etc., make it extremely hard for those who have been under his preaching to be tolerant. In addition, the attitude of the revivalist toward the Bible has been such as to leave it in the minds of his hearers as a fetich which can only be truly understood by those who possess the prophetic key with which to open it.

(2) Modern revivalism now in decline.

In the light of the foregoing facts it is not surprising to learn that modern revivalism is in decline. Despite the hosts of imitators of Billy Sunday the results are meagre compared with what they were in his heyday. Mrs. Aimee Semple McPherson-Hutton could

report startling results in only one state in the union.¹⁰⁹ Even Billy Sunday cannot draw audiences as he once did.¹¹⁰

A recent study made by Dr. Charles Stelzle of New York City¹¹¹ of the work of 100 modern revivalists showed that revival work was becoming "more difficult; . . . that the number of 'converts' is distressingly small, and those who are still doing the work professionally are not engaged more than half the time."¹¹² In reply to his question as to what percentage of results obtained¹¹³ as compared with the earlier period in their experience, the revivalists replied that "their effectiveness had decreased from 80% down to 10%."¹¹⁴

(a) The reasons for the decline.

Why the decline? The revivalists in Dr. Stelzle's report gave the following reasons: The "sport craze," "churchianity" instead of Christianity, radio (wireless) and the automobile, too much emphasis upon the social gospel, the spirit of commercialism, modernism in religion, and expensive denominational programs.¹¹⁵ Nearly all the revivalists admitted that in part their unpopularity had been brought on by themselves.¹¹⁶

With some of these reasons the writer can heartily agree. The world does move, but the revivalist has not moved with it. Dr. Stelzle's report shows that most of the revivalists of to-day are preaching the sermons which they made twenty years ago in spite of the tremendous forward strides which religion has taken in those twenty years. People now care little for sermons denouncing theater-

going, dancing, card-playing, or even the cinema and Sunday sports. If a man is to secure a hearing his must be a full-rounded gospel of social righteousness.¹¹⁷ No man can preach for five weeks without saying one word about the social import of Jesus's teachings, as Mr. Sunday did recently¹¹⁸, and appeal to a modern audience. No more can a gospel of a priestly Christ who bought us with His blood produce results. Modern men demand a gospel of a Christ "who found God through deep experience; who possessed a creative faith and produced it in others; who, to be sure, died for us, but not instead of us."¹¹⁹ This type of liberalism has come to stay and its presence is helping to ring the death knell of the old sensational appeal.

Again, people have awakened to the fact that the newer revivalism has certain commercial aspects which are fraught with danger. We are told by Dr. Charles L. Goodell, head of the American Federal Council of Churches Commission on Evangelism that Mr. Sunday's campaign in New York City which cost \$350,000 (£70,000) "resulted in an addition of only two hundred church members, so that each nominal convert resulting from this mission cost the churches \$1, 750 (£350). Such methods of soul saving are far too costly."¹²⁰

People have also come to realize that modern revivalism is "a pump rather than a spring,"¹²¹ and that many of the revivalists are not "fishers of men, but snarer's of minnows."¹²²

"The saw-dust trail type of preaching must go. The irresponsible fly-by-night party, that pitches its tent on a back lot and spends its energies pronouncing cavils against the local churches, is a parasite on the Kingdom. The rattle of silver in a tin plate bulks all too large in such

business. Again, the sob-story type of preaching must also go. That is based on poor psychology. It is a dastardly crime to persuade men that we are doing them good, or doing God honor, when we move them to expressions of religion by the use of sentimental stories. Such preaching is cheap and tawdry. It is superficial and belongs to the moving picture (cinema) category. The whole appeal is to the sensational. Deep conviction is a thing apart from that." (123)

NOTES

Chapter VII.

1. J. H. Odell: The mechanics of revivalism, Atlantic Monthly - Vol. 115 - (1915) - p. 587
2. In this connection see The Christian convention of the Northwest Union revival meetings conducted by B. F. Mills and J. W. Chapman, passim.
3. See especially E. P. Brown: The real Billy Sunday.
4. The work of some of these will be discussed later in the chapter.
5. J. H. Odell: op. cit. p. 585
6. In this connections see H. R. Neibuhr: The social sources of denominationalism, or. H. C. McComas: The psychology of religious sects.
7. Revivals past and present, etc. Harpers - Vol. 135 - (1917) - p. 857
8. loc. cit. In this connection the following quotation is interesting: "As I have studied Mr. Sunday in the act of taking the hands of converts - one memorable night more than five hundred at the rate of fifty-seven a minute - the symbolism of his hand appealed to my imagination." W. T. Ellis: The Billy Sunday book, etc. p. 162 (To one brought up in a country and civilization which has brought "mass production in industry" to the peak we would naturally expect even "mass production in religion" to appeal. Author)
9. It is interesting to note that this is also the conclusion reached by a British writer. After an extensive study of the business methods of Mr. Sunday he says: "Here is 'scientific management' brought into the service of revivalism to such effect that 'conversion' as achieved, is not in the individual but in the collective soul. . . . It is a marvellous tale of spiritual 'boost', which surely could be told of no other country than America." Religious Boost, Nation (British) - Vol. 18 - (1915) - p. 176 (The italics are mine)
10. F. G. Beardsley: The revival of the future, Bibliotheca Sacra - Vol. 86 - (1929) - p. 86
11. In the following discussion the nature and mechanics of modern revivalism it seems well to the writer, following the lead of J. H. Odell: op. cit. to make a 'clinic' of the Billy Sunday cam-

paign, as he so aptly epitomizes a movement. Mention of other modern revivalists will be made as such mention is necessary to illustrate certain points which are of interest to the study.

12. The guarantees were underwritten in the form of shares and each guarantor received a receipt for his shares to be preserved as a memento of the campaign. W. T. Ellis: op. cit. p. 64. It is interesting to note in this connection that no guarantor ever had to pay a dollar on his Billy Sunday campaign subscription.
13. Thus we are told that in his campaigns it was quite a normal condition for thousands of persons to try to crowd their way into the tabernacle after the latter was full. Sometimes it took "foot-ball tactics to keep them out." W. T. Ellis: op. cit. p. 67
14. It should be said at this point that "personal work is chiefly speaking to individuals and leading them forward when the appeal for converts is made." J. H. Odell: op. cit. p. 589
15. The writer remembers very distinctly the erection of a tabernacle on such a plan. The tabernacle was built in Akron, Ohio, for the use of the revivalist, W. E. Biederwolf. The ministers of the city donned mufti in the form of overalls, etc., and actually sawed the lumber and hammered the nails for the building. In this work they were assisted by laymen from their congregations.
16. Windows are costly. Hence they were often few in number, depending upon the condition of the community.
17. J. Collins: op. cit. p. 859
18. J. H. Odell: loc. cit.
19. Ibid: loc. cit.
20. Religious Boost: op. cit. p. 176
21. Special nights were designated for various groups. Thus there were "Police Night," "Fireman's Night," "Banker's Night," etc. Secret organizations were urged to come with the resultant "Masonic Night," "Odd Fellows Night," etc.
22. Demas as evangelist, A. D. 1928 - Rev. of the Churches - Vol. 6 - (New Series) - (1929) - p. 56
23. Ibid: loc. cit.
24. J. H. Odell: op. cit. p. 588

25. The receptacles used were usually round tin pans about nine inches in diameter and about one inch deep. The real purpose for which they were intended being the baking of pies.
26. This custom of allowing the revivalist to appeal for free-will offerings began in the work of D. L. Moody. However it must be remembered that Mr. Moody used such offerings for the work of his schools at Northfield, Mass. Very few later revivalists have so disposed of their receipts. In this connection see H. Lunn: op. cit. pp. 56-57. When Mr. Sunday was criticized in New York for accepting \$100,000 (£22,000) in addition to the expenses of himself and his staff he stated that "he had given this money to a public charity, but when pressed to say which charity, he declared that this was his own private business, and no public statement was given as to the disposal of this money." H. Lunn: op. cit. p. 56
27. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that at the height of his career there were dozens of cities in which Mr. Sunday "received from \$40,000 (£8,000) to \$80,000 (£16,000)." H. Lunn: loc. cit.
28. "True, it was a free-will offering, but the financial committee of the campaign took particular pains to see those who were able and likely to contribute the larger units." J. H. Odell: op. cit. p. 588. An incident from Mr. Sunday's Springfield (Ohio) campaign, reported by Dr. Atkinson is illuminating here. "In the midst of his (Mr. Sunday's) campaign he called the stewards (financial committee) together and gave them a fearful tongue-lashing because they were not making as energetic efforts as he thought fit to secure the pledges from prominent and wealthy men in the city towards the 'free-will offering' that was taken on the last night of his campaign. I recall the expression that he used: 'I am no cheap skate, if you fellows think you can get on with this kind of stuff, you have another guess coming.' Quoted by H. Lunn: loc. cit.
29. The writer remembers a newspaper account of one of Mr. Sunday's campaigns where the parting gifts to the revivalist were so numerous as to fill two railroad baggage cars.
30. Thus J. H. Odell tells us that in some of the missions (revivals) conducted by Rev. R. A. Torrey, the sale of his various publications seemed to bulk more largely than the conversion of souls. loc. cit.
31. Ibid: loc. cit.
32. "Hardly any of the great standard hymns of the Christian church are copywrited. But nearly all of the effective ones of the present-day revivalism are copywrited and jealously guarded. Not

- because they are valuable as to music or as to poetry, but for the simple reason that they are a lucrative side-line of profit for the evangelist (revivalist) or his musical director." J. H. Odell: loc. cit.
33. The quality of these gospel hymnals (song books) was discussed in Chap. 5 of this thesis - "Revival Music and Hymnology".
 34. Thus A. C. Underwood states that the technique of the professional revivalist aims at three things: (1) securing a suggestible audience by the creation of crowd conditions; (2) still further heightening the suggestibility of the audience by raising its emotional tone; (3) securing from the audience the desired response." C. C. N. C. p. 202. This was discussed rather fully in Chap. 2 of this thesis - "Revivals and Crowd Psychology"
 35. Cf. H. Clark: The crowd, Psych. Rev. (Monograph) - Vol. 21 - No. 4 - (1916) - pp. 26-36
 36. For an excellent brief description of the way this was done by Mr. Alexander, the song leader for R. A. Torrey, see A. C. Underwood: op. cit. p. 205
 37. Quoted by K. Young: Social psychology, p. 541. (The italics are mine)
 38. G. W. Johnson: Saving souls, Amer. Mercury - Vol. 2 - (1924) - p. 366
 39. G. W. Johnson: loc. cit., describes it as a condition where the crowd is heated up "as hot as possible without making it too hot for the evangelist (revivalist) to handle."
 40. One American revivalist has specialized in a dramatic entrance as a climax to the expectations of the audience. For a complete report of this technique see S. Comstock: Aimee Semple McPherson, Prima donna of revivalism, Harpers - Vol. 156 - (1927) - p. 11-19.
 41. "Mr. Sunday is an actor. Indeed, it may truthfully be said that he is a great actor. He has a technique founded in original adaptability and perfected probably before the mirror. He is a natural mimic and he has cultivated this assiduously." J. Collins: op. cit. p. 861
 42. S. Comstock: loc. cit.
 43. Quoted by G. B. Cutten: P. P. C. pp. 190-191
 44. Even one of Mr. Sunday's staunchest supporters was compelled to admit that "some of these 'slang versions' of the old Book make one gasp." W. T. Ellis: op. cit. p. 251

45. To go quickly.
46. Announce loudly.
47. Boaster.
48. Chief man.
49. Fellows.
50. Strike.
51. A cast-off suit.
52. Head. "Block", used later, has the same meaning.
53. Eyes.
54. "Beat it" is slang for "to run away." This story in argot is quoted from W. T. Ellis: op. cit. pp. 251-252.
55. op. cit. p. 251. Neither need one accept this version because "the prologue of the Gospel of Luke is the only pure Greek of the New Testament." A literal translation of the Gree of the New Testament gives us no such version, as one can readily see who cares to compare Edgar J. Goodspeed's translation of the New Testament with any of Sunday's versions.
56. Since the revivalist's defendents claim that his use of slang was to reach the uneducated masses with which he dealt, one wonders if his slang prayers were addressed to God, or, in reality, to the people.
57. Cf. W. T. Ellis: op. cit. p. 272
58. Since he had little formal education and made no pretense of doing much reading his source material was somewhat limited.
59. This was an attempted pun. In baseball the batter takes his place on a rubber mat which is called "the plate". If he strikes at three pitched balls without making a fair strike he is declared out. Just so, according to the revivalist, those who nod when the collection plate is passed are, religiously, "out".
60. An ignorant fellow.
61. Incapable of moving rapidly around the bases so as to make a run.
62. Trainers.

63. Another attempted pun on "home plate".
64. Complete continuous circuits of the bases.
65. W. T. Ellis: op. cit. p. 274
66. Ibid: loc. cit. The phrase within the brackets was an aside addressed to Mr. Rodeheaver, the song leader. For examples of similar instances see the following anonymous article by a Presbyterian minister, Passing of the old evangelist, World Today - Vol. 51 - (1928) - p. 322
67. Thus after addressing the students at the University of Pennsylvania he began his closing prayer with the words, "Oh, Jesus, isn't this a fine bunch? Did you ever look down on a finer crowd?" Quoted by U. Sinclair: The goosetep, p. 103
68. For this report I am indebted to U. Sinclair: loc. cit.
69. He reviled them in numerous ways. The following is a mild example :
 "The statement has been made here in ----- by some dirty little puppet of the pulpit that there is no harm in the dance, the theater, and cards. To hell with that kind of minister. I am not swearing brethren, I am praying. A preacher of that sort is worse than a bull-necked bartender. Quoted by W. Gladden: Samples of modern evangelism, Independent - Vol. 72 - (1912) - p. 1102. And as J. H. Odell points out, it must be kept in mind that it was the ministers who were called upon to garner in the results and conserve the converts when Mr. Sunday departed. op. cit. p. 589
70. J. Collins: op. cit. p. 862
71. "If a woman on the avenue plays a game of cards in her home she is worse than any black-leg gambler in the slums." From a clergyman's letter reporting a sermon of Mr. Sunday's. Letter quoted by W. Gladden: op. cit. p. 1103.
72. J. Collins: op. cit. p. 860
73. Ibid: loc. cit.
74. It is interesting that just a few weeks ago Mr. Sunday visited the movie studios at Hollywood, California, and found one of the leading actresses so impressive as to elicit the suggestion that: "If she ever cared to leave the cinema she could make a real success in the pulpit."
75. B. B. Baird: Billy Sunday's failure, The Christian - Vol. 8 - (1932) - p. 502

76. J. Collins: op. cit. p. 861
77. Thus G. A. Coe reports that one of the lesser modern revivalists, after inviting sinners to the penitent bench, and before any had started, would exclaim, "See them coming! See them coming!" and the effort was frequently successful. The spiritual life, p. 145
78. W. T. Ellis: op. cit. pp. 67-68
79. It is only fair to say that in the majority of cases the people who sign cards are those who have already been under the pastoral care and preaching of some minister in a settled charge. In this connection see R. C. Gillie: Religious revival; the necessity and means, Rev. of the Churches - Vol. 3 - (1926) - p. 169
80. A change is here made to the present tense in order to accord with certain quoted material.
81. Chap. 2 of this thesis - "Revivals and Crowd Psychology" - dealt with certain factors of crowd psychology which enter in, but there are other factors especially characteristic of modern revivalism which need some consideration.
82. J. Collins: op. cit. p. 862
83. Ibid: loc. cit.
84. Ibid: p. 860
85. B. Bliven points out that this factor plays a great part in the lives of the audiences to which Mrs. McPherson, another modern revivalist, appeals. He says, "Some (in her audiences) have an inferiority-complex and find compensation for it in thus becoming part of an army, an army with such beautiful bright banners, marching behind the Lord and Sister Aimee to give battle to the hosts of hell. Sister Aimee; Mrs. McPherson (saint or sinner?) and her flock, New Republic - Vol. 48 - (1926) - p. 289
86. J. Collins says of Mr. Rodeheaver, the song leader: "He radiates geniality. . . . Good fellowship and good cheer fall from him as the petals fall from a full-blown rose." op. cit. p. 865
87. Ibid: p. 864
88. Ibid: loc. cit.
89. It will be possible here to give only a brief sketch. For more complete studies see C. W. Ferguson: The confusion of tongues, Chap. 18 - "The Maid of Angelus", also the following in the bibliography - (4), (84), (103), (137), (281). For Mrs. McPherson's own story see her book In the service of the king.

90. For the general outline of this section I am indebted to J. N. Budlong: Aimee Semple McPherson, Nation - N. Y. - Vol. 128 - (1929) - pp. 738-739
91. B. Bliven: op. cit. p. 289
92. For an explanation of her success in California when she had seemingly failed elsewhere, see B. Bliven: loc. cit.
93. Los Angeles, California.
94. S. Comstock: op. cit. p. 12. The following account from the Boston Post of one of her sermons is worthy of study. The Post reported it as one of her most dramatic sermons from the point of view of stage setting and actors. "She had Humpty Dumpty on a vine-clad wall. He represented Humanity. In sidled the devil in a spangled red suit, and with enticing gestures lured Humpty to his well-known leap. In trooped the king's men, ministers who preach modernism, senators and congressmen, soldiers, educators, and such impotent fry. Even a figure representing the League of Nations lifted unavailingly. Then, Aimee, the Angel of Mercy, put Humpty Dumpty back on the wall, his genial, ro-tund self." Quoted by James Harkness: Thinking out loud, The Christian - Vol. 7 - (1931) - p. 804
95. J. N. Budlong: op. cit. p. 738
96. "There is the gown with its flowing sleeves, suggesting angel's wings; black for nun's garb, over white for angel's and purity; the huge choir behind her, banking up toward the lofty ceiling, is in white, like the heavenly choir of Scripture; light streams down from heaven upon the spot where Sister stands; her own glorious hair is itself her Crown of Gold. Childish, obvious, trite, - yet she is performing for children - for minds capable of comprehending nothing beyond the obvious." J. N. Budlong: loc. cit.
97. "Mrs. McPherson's creed is clearly defined. Heaven is an 'indes-cribably glorious habitation' where the righteous will be pre-sented at the Throne 'without spot or wrinkle'; and 'wherein hosts of attending angels sweep their harps.' Hell is 'a place of outer darkness, and there into a lake that burns with fire and brimstone shall be cast the unbelieving, the abominable, the murderers, sorcerers, idolaters, and liars.' It is needless to say in what light she regards Mr. Darwin. One trembles for him. Garden of Eden, serpent and apple are her origin of species, and her pictures of the Hereafter are authoritative. There is no hope of escape from either one or the other of those two dreadful futures - the lake of brimstone, or the eternal twang-ing of a harp." S. Comstock: op. cit. p. 19

98. For the further development of this see C. W. Ferguson: op. cit. pp. 412-413
99. See Headliners on the tabernacle circuit, Independent - Vol. 123 - (1927) - pp. 327-328
100. "The Rev. Cyclone Mack, before he became an evangelist (revivalist), was a lowly barber, and other celebrities of the profession include locomotive engineers, watch-menders, race-track touts, bartenders, and drummers (commercial travelers)." G. W. Johnson: op. cit. p. 365
101. A favorite "stunt" of Aimee Semple McPherson.
102. Chaparajos - overalls of sheepskin or leather, usually open at the back.
103. In later years the vogue for "child revivalists" grew by leaps and bounds, and some still try to gain audiences by this method. For an excellent comment on this situation see Exploiting childhood, Christian Century - Vol. 44 - (1927) - p. 421. For an interesting report of a meeting conducted by one of the most popular of these child revivalists, see Jan and Cora J. Gordon: On Wandering wheels, pp. 165-170 (These writers were Europeans surveying American institutions)
104. T. E. Green: Revivals and revivalists, Hampton's Magazine - Vol. 24 - (1910) - pp. 797-798
105. Only recently the writer saw the following announcement made by a revivalist: "Special musical features of the Sunday evening program will be a vocal selection by the Carlyle Twins, and instrumental numbers by the tabernacle, including a feature number by Jack Green, who will play music on 31 whiskey bottles." The Akron Beacon Journal (Ohio), Dec. 10, 1932 - p. 10 (The italics are mine) Some of the revivalists are even willing to stoop to bribes in order to secure an audience as witnessed by the following news note. "Evangelist (revivalist) E. Howard Cadle is trying to attract sinners to the Indianapolis, Indiana, tabernacle by offering a free auto wash to every patron." Americana, Pathfinder Magazine, August 8, 1931 - p. 17
106. The following are a few chosen at random: "Why Church Members Go to Hell," "Seven Detours on the Road that Leads to Hell," "Where the Devil Hangs Out To-day." These titles are of sermons in a recent book of Soul winning and stewardship sermons by A. B. McReynolds.
107. A comprehensive evaluation of revivals in general will be made in Chap. 9 of this thesis - "Revivals Evaluated"

108. In this section the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to J. H. Odell: op. cit. pp. 591-592
109. Due to certain scandal Mrs. McPherson has temporarily retired, but there are many who feel that it will be a permanent retirement due more to her loss of power than to the scandal.
110. Thus in his recent campaign in Buffalo, New York, he was compelled to preach to audiences varying from 200 in the afternoons to 500 at night. See Billy Sunday meetings under fire, Christian Century - Vol. 48 - (1931) - p.
111. Evangelism passing out in the churches, a report of the results of a questionnaire sent to 100 leading revivalists. Although this report was released in part to the press in July, 1930, Dr. Stelzle supplied the writer with a manuscript copy in full. The material of this report was later incorporated by Dr. Stelzle in an article The Evangelist in present-day America, Current History - Vol. 35 - (1931) - p. 224-228. (My references are to the manuscript copy)
112. Ibid: p. 1.
113. That is, how many came forward, "hit the trail"?
114. C. Stelzle: op. cit. p. 3
115. Ibid: p. 1
116. Ibid: p. 3. For a recent study of revival methods see W. T. Sheperd: A study of methods of revivalists, J. of Abnor. and Soc. Psych. - Vol. 16 - (1921-22) - pp. 137-143
117. This will be considered more fully in Chap. 10 of this thesis - "The New Evangelism"
118. B. B. Baird: op. cit. p. 502
119. Ibid: p. 503
120. H. Lunn: op. cit. p. 56. Mrs. McPherson is reported to have divided with her mother, as a result of six year's evangelistic (revivalistic) work, \$600,000 (£120,000). Ibid: p. 58
121. This phrase I owe to T. Phillips: Religious revival, etc. Rev. of the Churches - Vol. 3 - (1926) - p. 173ff.
122. This phrase I owe to Dr. Harry Miller: op. cit.
123. W. Crowe: Evangelism: a word to preachers, Bibliotheca Sacra - Vol. 87 - (1930) - pp. 20-21.

"The 'revival' itself is by no means a simple matter; and cannot be fully understood by viewing it as a mere device for attaining communion through tempestuous feeling; it is not all a deliberate means, it is also with many a natural expression of the religious life. Such a life, rarely maintaining a constant level, is apt to have its ebb and flow; and thus the revival is not alone the stimulant for the restoration of the spiritually 'dead', but it is in part the unpremeditated expression of a return-wave of feeling."

- Geo M. Stratton

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GENESIS OF REVIVALS

How is the genesis of revivals to be explained? Just what are the factors which bring them into being? Do the same factors operate in every revival or is there variation? This chapter should answer such questions.

A. Various theories advanced to explain the genesis of revivals.

It must be admitted that in the vast though scattered material upon revivals, one finds very few definite attempts to explain the origin of revivals. Credit for the most comprehensive attempts must perhaps be given to A. Hook whose article₁ appeared in 1906, and J. Burns whose book₂ appeared in 1909.

(1) Revivals the result of natural rhythm.

This theory seems to have found its first expression in Prof. H. Bois' book on the psychology of revivals₃ which he published in 1906. In 1908 G. B. Cutten attempted to show by the means of a table of revivals "their periodic character."₄ However, it remained for J. Burns₅ in 1909, and J. B. Pratt₆ in 1921 to expound the theory in greater detail.

Thus we find Prof. W. P. Paterson's reference to "the law of the recurring re-awakening and resurrection to which the religious spirit has been made subject,"₇ echoing the words of H. Bois concerning the place in life "of effective rhythm of torpor and of rebirth, of sleep and of resurrection."₈ Both of these phrases were the expression of the part played by rhythm in religion and life.

It behoves us, therefore, to give some study to the place of rhythm. Herbert Spencer has shown that rhythm is not confined to the mental sphere but dominates all life and even much of the action of inorganic nature.⁹ The processes of the human body are in reality a series of complex and interrelated rhythms which affect our mental outlook and our emotional reactions. There are the rapid and regular processes of breathing, the beating of the heart, etc., and other processes less regular with time spans of weeks or months. So there is a constant swing and return of the pendulum as long as life lasts. "Hunger and satiety, sleep and waking, exertion and repose, excitement and relaxation, enthusiasm and indifference, follow each other with almost the certainty, if without the exact regularity, of day and night and the revolving seasons."¹⁰

That this recurring rhythm is characteristic of the love life of individuals is not surprising. Many writers have stressed this fact.¹¹ Now the lover is elated with joy, now depressed with sadness. Now all his problems are solved in the light of his new found love; again he is harassed by doubts. So the process continues, even through the period of married life.

The religious life, declare J. B. Pratt¹² and J. Moses¹³ is equally subject to the law of rhythm. The more intense is one's religious life the more its rhythmic nature is likely to be felt. If we study carefully the history of religion we see the religionist now despising and scourging himself, and again ravished with delight because he has received some token of divine favor.¹⁴ Even ordinary

individuals find it difficult to remain long on "the religious heights."

J. B. Pratt points out¹⁵ how this rhythmic recurrence in religion has found expression in the Christian Church in the "Christian Year" with its great emotional seasons and sacred days for recollection and contemplation.¹⁶ The same was true of Hinduism. The regular oscillation of the religious consciousness also finds expression in the Christian Sunday, the Jewish Sabbath, and the Mohammedan observance of Friday.

But, says J. B. Pratt, these factors are only sufficient to explain the provision which religions have made for the rhythmic recurrence of religious sentiment in the hearts of their individual followers. What of great religious movements?

"Many of them have made use of the forces of social suggestion to reinforce nature, and hence has resulted not merely the religious refreshment of lonely individuals, but group movements in which many individuals have joined, each one influencing the other so as to make the religious revival much more intense than could be the case if the individual were left to himself and to the ordinary rhythms of the religious consciousness." (17)

Here we have the explanation of revivals occurring in various ages and differing milieus.¹⁸

G. B. Cutten, accepting this explanation of the origin of revivals, presents a table¹⁹ showing the occurrence of revivals from the time of the Great Awakening in 1734 to the Welsh revival in 1905. From this table he draws the conclusion that "periodicity is characteristic of all revivals," and that "they come more frequently than

epidemics, and last a shorter time.²⁰

At this point I must directly take issue with G. B. Cutten upon the conclusion which he draws. According to the dictionary definition "periodicity is the tendency to happen over and over again at regular intervals of time."²¹ In the light of this definition the statement that "periodicity is characteristic of revivals" is not borne out by the facts.

In the course of this study the writer was able to record 127 different revivals occurring in 23 different countries. Several distinct attempts were made to discover evidence of periodicity in these movements: (1) The revivals were ranged chronologically, regardless of the country of their appearance, but no "periodicity" could be established; (2) A chronological study was made of the appearance of revivals in those countries where they were most frequent - i.e. periodicity was sought in the American revivals, again in the Welsh revivals, the Scotch revivals, etc. - but no distinct periodicity could be found; (3) No periodicity was found in "revival peaks" nor in the periods between the end of one revival and the beginnings of another.

Turning to G. B. Cutten's table I cannot see that it proves his contention. The table which he gives is as follows:

The Great Awakening	1734-1750
Wesley	1740-1790
Kentucky	1796-1815
Nettleton and Finney	1828-1840
Miller	1840-1844
American, Irish, and Welsh . . .	1857-1859
Moody	1873-1880
Welsh	1905-1906

Accepting G. B. Cutten's figures we find when studying the peaks of the revivals that these peaks are spaced at the following intervals in years:- (23) - ($40\frac{1}{2}$) - ($28\frac{1}{2}$) - (8) - ($16\frac{1}{2}$) - (19) - ($29\frac{1}{2}$) -: which very definitely belies any claim to periodicity.

If on the other hand we consider the periods between the revivals we find these compare as follows:- (16) - (13) - (0) - (13) - (14) - (25) -: which again gives not very scientific aid to the theory.

In conclusion, then, it seems only fair to say that G. B. Cutten has seemingly based his theory upon insufficient data.²²

Further more, although I am unable to accept G. B. Cutten's theory of periodicity I should call attention to the fact that revivals do follow a definite cycle, although the cycle as a whole, as well as the separate parts, may vary in length depending upon circumstances.²³ We find that in revivals "there is a formative, then a quiescent, then a disturbed, and finally a resumptive period."²⁴

(2) Revivals the result of some phase of social evolution.

While there are many advocates of the theory explained above we find some writers who would approach the problem in a very different way. There are many who feel that revivals come into being as the direct result of some phase of social evolution.

(a) The social spirit among the lower classes triumphing over individualism.

One ingenious explanation of the genesis of revivals is

that they come into being as the result of the social spirit among the lower classes triumphing over individualism. This theory has been developed in full by A. Hook in an article entitled Revivals and Social Evolution. I shall briefly consider the article and his position.

"The social system owes its stability," he says, "to the operation of two great forces - that of individualism or independent motion, and that of socialism (in its widest sense) which tends to draw the units of society together. The destruction of either of these two forces, or a considerable disturbance of their relative strength at any period, would . . . lead to a catastrophe." (25)

It is to our interest, then, to consider the operation of these forces.

In the early stages of civilization man experienced only primary wants; i.e. food and shelter.²⁶ When, as civilization advanced, it became possible for a portion of the members to produce sufficient food for all, the stronger members supplied their needs by taking what they wished. In this way, there came in certain secondary wants consisting of certain personal gratifications. Some of these secondary wants found their source in the gregarious inclinations of man. The individual who had the power surrounded himself with others dependent on him, and derived a certain pleasure from their company. Individualism alone rendered possible the condition in which one man, or a small class, dominated and lived upon the rest of the community. The concern of the individual for his own existence drove him to submit to the more powerful; while the absence of any strong social instinct in the people prevented them from com-

binning to resist the demands made upon them.

In the next stage of civilization there arose a class of non-producers. Class spirit strengthened the hands of the non-producers in holding the workers in subjection. It also extended the limits of secondary wants as the means of gratifying them increased. Thus the over-class was driven to extract the utmost possible from the laboring under-class.

The next stage came when, society organization becoming more and more complex, it became impossible for the over-class to directly supervise the under-class of workers. From the ranks of the under-class were drawn the more individualistic to form a middle-class. These who were to all intents and purposes agents of the over-class in exploiting the workers had been the ablest and most unscrupulous of the workers. So advancing civilization increased the weight upon the worker, pressing him constantly against the border of bare subsistence.

In our own stage of civilization individualism probably reaches its highest point. It has largely ceased to be an active feeling, and has become for the most part a persistent habit. In most of the affairs of modern life, the individual strives for his own personal ends with the utmost disregard for the welfare of his fellows. He does not hate the one he attacks. His relations with him are the normal relations of the age; "he crushes him into the gutter and leaves him there with the completest indifference."²⁷

"This is the triumph of the individualistic spirit. Its fruits would, however, be far worse were it not that the

the social instinct is constantly in operation, tending steadily to tone down the harshness of the other, bringing sympathy to take the edge from greed, and as the under-class gains power, compelling the introduction of changes in the society calculated to ameliorate the lot of the lowest." (28)

It is important, then, to know something of the growth of this social instinct and the part it plays in modern social life.

In very primitive society men were no doubt unsocial solitary animals. In the next stage when ruled by a non-producing over-class each man was interested only in saving his own skin and not in what happened to his fellows. Later, as intelligence awakened there came the power of sympathizing. However, this social element was relatively weak. The great danger to rulers was in a people sufficiently individualistic to resist oppression, and sufficiently social to unite in such resistance. This often took place:

"As the growing intelligence of the people has given strength to the social instinct and the rapid increase in the size of the community has multiplied the opportunities of exercising it, it has become a very real force among considerable sections of the people. In many it has grown into a craving for human fellowship and sympathy; and although the individualistic system of the modern world holds it in check, it is constantly striving against its bonds." (29)

This desire, on the part of the submerged classes, for fellowship finds its best expression through religion. It is among the under-class that the religious spirit has survived.³⁰ As the social side of human nature has slowly developed, the traditional character of the gods has ceased by degrees to reflect the ideal of the man.

"The God of the Old Testament, mainly individualistic in character, has drifted into the background. Jesus of Nazareth, the man of sorrows, the pure essence of human affection, the personification of the social spirit, is the real center of their religion. . . . He exhibits in his person the poverty, the self-abnegation, the absence of individualistic qualities which the people have come to regard as the special features of their duty." (31)

When this belief become strong enough on the part of a considerable group of believers, the current of this social life, long restrained by the individualistic character of modern society, breaks down all opposition and sweeps in a resistless flood over the men and women so brought under its influence. "Herein we find ample explanation of the fervor, the enthusiasms, the frenzy, which the modern religious revival displays."³² In other words, a religious revival is the direct result of the social spirit as displayed by the under-class, triumphing over the spirit of individualism. "The under-class, or at least a large portion of them, is as a volcano where the social fire is held down by the ice-bound mountain of individualism. Sometimes the fire breaks through, and a revival - political, social, or religious - startles the world."³³

As men progress it becomes more and more difficult for them to submit to the individualistic traditions of the past and so there periodically come religious upheavals in which the religious ideal is re-adjusted.

"Such being the nature and origin of the revival, its meteoric course may be easily understood. Its striking phenomena are due to its explosive character. The force having expended itself, the pent-up waters having been let loose, the abnormal features of the revival fade away. The water, which

at its release, had rushed in headlong violence, submerging landmarks, carrying havoc and destruction in its path, settles quietly in the plain and sinks out of sight. So this moral flood, which seems for the moment to overthrow long established habits, to threaten the very foundations of society, subsides after a time and leaves the surface of things to all appearances much as before. It, too, has its unseen influence upon the race, and leaves the social force freer and stronger than it found it." (34)

(1) Corollaries to the above theory.

In the autumn of 1930 there was waged in Scotland concerning revivals a controversy which is worthy of attention as a corollary of the above theory and for the bearing it has upon the factors which bring revivals into being. This controversy dealt with the question as to whether revivals come into being in times of comparative prosperity or in times of economic stringency.

- (a) The theory that revivals come only in times of comparative prosperity versus the theory that they come in times of economic stringency.

Dr. John White, first moderator of the reunited Church of Scotland, started a storm of correspondence in the newspapers by a sermon which he preached in the Barony Church, Glasgow, when he asserted that there is a close connection between economic sufficiency and spiritual vitality. He said: "There can be no revival of religion when the minds of men are wholly absorbed by an unsettled marketplace and by commercial arithmetic. National security and comparative prosperity are conditions of religious quickening." 35

Following this pronouncement the Glasgow Herald was besieged by letters from writers, clerical and lay, setting forth arguments pro and con.

In a trenchant reply to his critics Dr. White "pointed out that he was not dealing with the influence of trade depression on the religious life of the church community, but with the prospect of bringing religious influences to bear upon those outside the church."³⁶ He drew the main support for his thesis³⁷ from the scholarly work of J. E. T. Rogers³⁸ who showed that every religious revival in England has happened upon a basis of comparative prosperity.

However, there were many students of religion who were willing to take up the cudgel in favor of the opposite side of the question. Just as J. Kaltenbach had previously contended³⁹ that the early American revivals came into being in times of economic stringency, so correspondents to the Glasgow Herald presented arguments for a like thesis concerning revivals in general. Such arguments were presented as the fact that the '59 revival in the United States took place during a period of financial depression, and the fact that Dr. John McNeill conducted a successful evangelistic campaign in Melbourne immediately after the Australian bank failures. But the main point of contention was the Wesleyan revival. This great movement was claimed by both sides, some declaring that the revival came in time of comparative prosperity and others that it came in an era of depression. On the latter side the main argument used was a sentence quoted from Dr. George Morrison's moderatorial address of 1926, "The coldest historian admits to-day that Wesley did more than any man in England to save his beloved land from revolution."

To the mind of the writer, after a rather comprehensive study of revivals, it would seem that Dr. White's contention had the

greater support from actual historical records. Even in the case of the Wesleyan revival, where it must be admitted that "Wesley did more than any man in England to save his beloved land from revolution," historians tell us that his movement took place in a time of comparative prosperity. A century before the people were in that state of poverty which is so abject as to crush out any hope for social betterment. When Wesley began his movement, although the country was corrupt, the condition of the people had greatly improved.⁴⁰

J. E. T. Rogers says:

"I am strongly convinced that Wesley, who labored with so much success and effected so powerful an organization in the eighteenth century, would have wasted his labor in the seventeenth. During the first half of the eighteenth century, and indeed further on, prices were far lower than in the previous century, wages rose slightly, but were only slightly raised, and it is clear that most laborers were small occupiers as well, perhaps under the Act of 1589. There was therefore in the comparative plenty of the time an opening for a religious movement among the poor, and Wesley was equal to the occasion." (41)

That revivals are possible during times of serious financial difficulty no one will deny, but a study of their history shows that as a rule they come in times of comparative prosperity.

(b) Revivals as a phase of frontier life.

One explanation has been given for the origin of revivals which while dealing with certain phases of social evolution is applicable only to certain American revivals, those of the frontier. This explanation we owe to P. G. Mode, a theory which he first propounded in a magazine article⁴², and later elaborated in a book.⁴³ Many writ-

ers have since accepted his theory.

The religious life of the early American frontier expressed itself in revival camp-meetings, of which those of the Kentucky revival, discussed in an earlier chapter⁴⁴, are representative.⁴⁵

According to P. G. Mode and other writers these camp-meetings were the outgrowth of two factors in early frontier life, namely, (1) a starved social life, and (2) a starved emotional life.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, settlement in America had begun to extend beyond the mountains and each year saw the line of frontier moving further and further West. The people were thus cut off from their Eastern homes, and surrounded by uncleared land. In constant danger from hostile Indians, they faced an unrelenting conquest which forbade any of the refinement of the more advanced social order. Cut off from all religious connections, seeing not anew face throughout the length of a stubborn winter, faced by the monotony of routine, it was no wonder that Sunday, the one day of rest was given over to rowdy entertainment. "Man's social nature cried out in hunger - but was not fed."^{45-a}

Again, although life was simple, it was almost unbearably narrow. There was little privacy in the home, sometimes a dozen persons living in one room. In spite of the fact that every one knew his neighbor's business, there was great loneliness and little or nothing for minds to feed upon. The economic conditions of marriage were simple. The boys and girls "married for love," but "the hard, grinding work of daily toil and incessant childbearing left little

time for romance so that both minds and emotions became starved." 46

All opportunities for worth-while emotional expression had disappeared in America. "Self expression in art had been abandoned under the stress of the struggle for mere material comfort. Owing largely to Puritanism, the religious festivals had been abandoned and all aesthetic emotion had been banished from the church services. There was nothing in the hard-working, drab life of the American pioneers to take the place of all these things." 47

As a result mind and emotion became ingrowing; nature took her revenge in the form of Occasional outbursts of violent excitement. It was not necessarily the spiritual nature of man which hungered so much as his gregarious nature that was starving, and his pent-up emotions that needed an outlet. So it was no wonder that with the coming of autumn:

"Age snatched up his crutch; youth forgot his pastime bold hunters, sober matrons, and little children flocked to the common center of attraction. Homes were deserted, settlements were broken up, and fields left unworked, for the whole countryside had turned out to the 'holy fair.' A wagon trip of thirty, or forty miles was a small price to pay for a social and spiritual tonic of a 'religious holiday'." (48)

Thus the great camp-meetings which had been established for practical reasons of economy - that the preacher might reach more people with less effort - continued because they filled a definite need in the lives of those to whom they catered. 49

James Truslow Adams has further shown that these factors continued to play a large part in the lives of men throughout the

country. In the 1830's the whole country found itself on the threshold of a mass age, which tended to lead toward what has been designated as the "hysteria system." With the gathering of herds of people in the cities, the spread of newspapers and greater swiftness of communication, the mob spirit received new vigor. This mass emotion found expression through several channels, one of which was the mass meeting of the religious revival.

Thus the leading revivalists swept audiences of men and women with pure emotionalism, while swarms of lesser itinerant preachers relied solely upon excitement to produce temporarily in their hearers the sense of salvation and release.

"The fuller and better life which all craved, and of which humanitarianism was a sound social manifestation, was, in the religious sphere, all too-much debased to the level of mere intoxication, and tended to increase the sense of nervous tension in which the nation was to live . . . during the period.

The great mass of our people in all sections were interested in neither the things of the mind nor in healthy sports. There were few diversions, either for those crowded into cities or living on lonely farms and clearings. The village was unutterably dull. We were emotionally starved, and in many sections the camp meeting revival, with its gathering of thousands who let themselves go in common emotions, even sexual orgies, offered alone that release from a life of inhibitions which the normal human being craves."

(50)

The genesis of the great mass revival movements of this period can be understood only if one takes into full consideration this starved life and the ease with which any issue appealing to the emotions spread like wildfire. Frontier conditions created a demand which was thus supplied.

(c) Revivals the result of sex seeking expression.

Just as many of the psychoanalysts have attempted to explain religion as the outgrowth of the sex instinct⁵¹, there have been those who have sought to explain the origin of revivals on the same basis. T. Schroeder, for example, says:
⁵²

"We may co-ordinate the observed facts of revival experience with what we know of the behavior of human energy as observed in the field of religious and sexual psychology. Thus some are incapacitated from seeing in these revival phenomena . . . anything but a psychic sexual orgasm.

From this point of view the varieties of physical manifestations of revival excitement are explainable by varying degrees of sexual repression, sensitiveness, or shame, and the resultant varying degrees of intensity in the sexual excitement of the muscles involved in the spasms." (53)

Because of this common origin he maintains that there is a psychological unity between the Holy Rollers, Holy Jumpers, Shaking Quakers, Dancing Derbishes, and all other groups subject to revivalistic manifestations.

However, just as the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, it seems to me that revivals cannot be completely explained by the theory that they come into being through the sex factor in life seeking to find expression.

B. Value in the above theories, but still other factors must be considered.

That the above theories are of value is evident. However, there are certain other factors which to the mind of the writer are of great importance in attempting to understand revival origins.

(1) The place of the man and the message which he presents.

J. Stalker tells us that "one cause of revival is to be found in personalities of original religious genius. Such were in the Old Testament, Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, Ezra, and the like, with each of whom a rise in the tide is connected."⁵⁴ Others have declared that the personality of the revivalist and the message which he presents has much to do with the origin and expression of the revival.⁵⁵

In addition, there is reason to believe that in the majority of cases⁵⁶ one must take into account the Zeitgeist ("spirit of the times") which was really responsible for calling into being a leader for the movement. T. M. Lindsay maintains⁵⁷ that this fact is borne out by the accounts of revival movements in Italy, Austria, Great Britain and America during the nineteenth century.

To settle the question as to whether the man originates the movement or the movement calls forth the man would be exceedingly difficult.⁵⁸ The answer would seem to vary with different revivals. However, the importance of the man and his message can not be over-rated. In practically every revival "the messenger and his message" have been the rallying point for the movement. L. E. Brynstad claims that the Great Awakening cannot be explained apart from "the spiritual giants of the movement, Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, and Gilbert Tennent."⁵⁹

(2) Revivals as the fulfilling of human wishes.

W. I. Thomas some years ago classified human wishes as follows:

- (a) The desire for new experience
- (b) The desire for security
- (c) The desire for response
- (d) The desire for recognition.⁶⁰

These wishes while not in all cases having bearing upon the genesis of revivals, seem to me to play sufficient part in revival origin and continuance to merit their discussion here. Let us see how these factors find expression in revivals.

(a) The desire for new experience.

According to W. I. Thomas men crave excitement, and all experiences are exciting which have in them some resemblance to the pursuit, flight, capture, escape, death, which characterized the earlier life of mankind. The organism craves stimulation and seeks expansion. Some individuals, "the bohemians," work out this desire in actual experience, others vicariously through books, etc.

We have seen how this factor played a part in the production of frontier revivals. It also plays a part in other revivals. When John Wesley preached to the colliers and hard-working members of society to whom for years religion had been but a name, as he offered the promise of a new experience - rebirth by faith - excitement was "introduced to lives otherwise dull and eventless"⁶¹; the desire for new experience found satisfaction.

(b) The desire for security.

There are, on the other hand, individuals who are dominated by the desire for security. These are the "philistines" who seek to

avoid danger, who are cautious, conservative, and apprehensive.

To this group also the revival makes its appeal, but in a very different way. These people are those who find satisfaction in the promise of the revivalist that "they will be saved if they only believe." They are the ones who sing with great gusto the songs of the "heaven that is to be" and in which they are to share.

(c) The desire for response.

This desire is the most social of all the wishes, having at its base a gregarious impulse. Individuals are anxious both to receive and to give response and seek methods of carrying out that desire.

This desire found expression in the early frontier revivals as previously shown. The frontier people desired to be with others, to "speak to people," "to hear them talk," "to also have a say in the matter." Thus this desire had much to do with the origin of American frontier revivals, but there is also reason to believe that it played a part in revivals in other countries.

(d) The desire for recognition.

This wish is expressed in the general struggle of men for position in their social group, and in devices for securing a recognized, enviable, and advantageous social status.

The part which this has played in revivals has been tremendous. In the Wesleyan revival "a sense of dignity was communicated to men as destitute of social individuality as bees in a bee-hive or ants

in an ant-hill." ⁶² In many another revival defeated men gained status through the conversion experience. "Having put on Christ in conversion . . . they became respectable members in the Christian group. They had full status in an ecclesiastical fellowship and were superior persons in God's company of the redeemed." ⁶³ Prof. W. P. Paterson declared that this desire for recognition had a part in the attitude of the early Christians. ⁶⁴

C. How then is the genesis of revivals to be explained?

In the light of facts it seems impossible to explain the genesis of revivals by any one theory; as easily might a sociologist attempt to present a theory for the origin of poverty. Revivals vary and various explanations of their origin are necessary. An explanation which will suffice for one movement will be insufficient to explain all the factors in another movement.

Students of religion have found that the development of religion in any group is determined by a number of varying factors. Such things for example as the nationality of the people involved, their varying temperaments ⁶⁵, the influence of their environment ⁶⁶, even such a factor as weather play an important part. ⁶⁷

Many of these factors enter in to the production of revivals. Hence a revival which will spread like wildfire among one racial group, subject to certain geographic and cultural conditions, will refuse to "take fire" among another social group subject to entirely different geographic and cultural conditions. H. Bois discovered that the Welsh revival of 1904-05 seemed hardly able to make an

impression among any Europeans because differences in temperament, nationality, and culture created barriers difficult to surmount.⁶⁸

Much depends upon the stage of culture in which the people happen to be, and how credulous they are concerning certain untoward events.⁶⁹ All the theories and factors which have been listed are responsible for the production of revivals, but to determine just how large a role each one plays is a task beyond our ken at present.

In conclusion I cannot but stress the theory of H. Bois that "societies more nearly approaching primitive nature are more favorable to the revivalistic revival."⁷⁰

NOTES

Chapter VIII.

1. Revivals and social evolution, Westminster Rev. - Vol. 165 - (1906) - pp. 418-430
2. Revivals; their laws and leaders.
3. Quelques reflexions sur la psychologie des reveils, p. 79ff.
H. Bois insists that the Law of Rhythm provides only a partial explanation; crowd psychology provides the rest.
4. P. P. C. p. 186
5. loc. cit.
6. R. C. pp. 165-168. J. B. Pratt insists that the Law of Rhythm explains only in part. Like H. Bois he maintains that the general principles of crowd psychology also furnish part of the explanation.
7. The nature of religion, p. 27
8. loc. cit.
9. See his First Principles (4th. Ed.) Chap. 10 of Part II. esp. sections 85, 86, and 87. Quoted by J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 165
10. J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 164
11. For a most excellent study of the place of rhythm in the love life see H. A. Gray: The mind of Christ on moral problems to-day - marriage, Expository Times - Vol. 41 - (1929-30) - pp. 395-396 (This article is No. 5 in a series)
12. op. cit. pp. 165-166
13. Pathological aspects of religion, pp. 21.
14. Ibid: loc. cit. This rhythm has been especially characteristic of the mystics. "The mystic life as a rule oscillates from times of inner emotional warmth to periods of outer activity or even emotional 'dryness'." J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 166
15. op. cit. pp. 166-167
16. "This rhythmic element in human nature was one of the most potent forces displayed in the technique of the Methodist Revival. Chas. Wesley's hymns followed the rotation of the Church feasts and holy days in the Christian year, and thus, as a guide to the de-

votion of organized Methodism, they utilized the old traditional festivals of English religious life." S. G. Dimond: P. M. R. p. 119.

17. J. B. Pratt: op. cit. p. 167
18. These were considered in detail in Chap. 1 of this thesis - "The Fact of Revivals"
19. op. cit. p. 186
20. Ibid: loc. cit.
21. Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary. (The italics are mine)
22. It is the plan of the writer to pursue much further at a later date this study of supposed cycles in revivals. Such a study will necessarily be so comprehensive as to forbid its inclusion in this thesis. Some work in this direction has been done by H. C. Weber: Evangelism: a graphic survey. However, he deals with the effect of evangelism in general, and only in the American churches.
23. See H. C. Weber: op. cit. passim.
24. In this connection see S. Paton: The art of living, esp. pp. 10-12.
25. op. cit. p. 419. In the same vein another writer says: "Life may be compared to an ellipse with two foci. One focus may represent the individual; the other society. If the individual sees only himself, if life is egoistic, self-centered, and grossly individualistic, then the ellipse is at an end. . . . If, on the other hand, society says that the individual is nothing, or but a means to an end, a cog in the wheel, . . . then again the ellipse is incomplete. In the full-orbed life, the two foci come closer and closer together." G. F. Kenngott: The effect of the social movement upon the churches, Harvard Theol. Rev. - Vol. 9 - (1916) - pp. 322-323
26. "The preservation of his own existence is the most powerful claim that nature makes upon him (man). In the remote past, during the early ages of the race, that instinct stood practically alone as the director of his actions. In short, he is by nature individualistic." A. Hook: op. cit. p. 419 (The italics are mine)
27. Ibid: p. 423
28. Ibid: loc. cit.
29. Ibid: p. 426

30. In this connection the following words of G. Tarde are valuable:
"I may be allowed to point out, as one of the explanations of the religiosity of the masses of the people, that in very remote antiquity religion began by being the exclusive luxury of a few patricians before it became a general and vulgarized need of the plebeians." The laws of imitation, p. 232 note.
31. A. Hook: op. cit. p. 429
32. Ibid: p. 430
33. Ibid: p. 426
34. Ibid: pp. 429-430
35. Reported in the Glasgow Herald, Sept. 8, 1930 - p. 11
36. Marcus Spencer: Special correspondence from Scotland, Christian Century - Vol. 47 - (1930) - p. 1259
37. According to Dr. White's letter to the editor of the Glasgow Herald, published Sept. 15, 1930 - p. 7
38. The economic interpretation of history, pp. 80-82
39. Etude psychologique des plus anciens reveils religieux aux Etats-Unis.
40. For an excellent study of the period see S. G. Dimond: op. cit. Chap. 2.
41. op. cit. p. 88
42. Revivalism as a phase of frontier life, J. of Rel.- Vol. 1 - (1921) - pp. 337-354
43. The frontier spirit in American Christianity.
44. Chap. 1 - "The Fact of Revivals"
45. For excellent descriptions see C. C. Cleveland: G. R. W., passim. Also F. M. Davenport: P. T. R. R. pp. 60-86
- 45-a. W. B. Posey: Emotional excesses in the early western camp meetings, Social Science - Vol. 5 - (1929-30) - p. 171
46. J. T. Adams: The epic of America, p. 126
47. Ibid: p. 128

48. W. B. Posey: loc. cit.
49. Cf. R. L. Duffus: Gone are the old camp meeting days, New York Times (Magazine Section) - Nov. 6, 1932 - pp. 8; 17
50. J. T. Adams: The march of democracy, Vol. 1 - p. 329 (The italics are mine)
51. Cf. E. Jones: Psychology of religion, Brit. J. of Psych. (Medical Section) - Vol. 6 - Part 4 - pp. 264-269. Also C. Cohen: Religion and sex: studies in the pathology of religious development. For a most excellent refutation of the theory that sex is the basis of religion see Wm. James: V. R. E. p. 12 note.
52. Cf. the following articles by T. Schroeder - (502) - (503) - (504) He has also compiled a bibliography on Sex and Religion, see his Erotogenesis of religion.
53. Revivals, sex, and the Holy Ghost, J. of Abnor. Psych. - Vol. 14 - (1919) - p. 47
54. Revivals of religion, E. R. E. - Vol. 10 - p. 753
55. J. H. Odell: The mechanics of revivalism, Atlantic Monthly - Vol. 115 - (1915) - p. 587
56. That is where revivals were in a sense spontaneous and not manufactured as some later revivals have been.
57. Revivals, Contemp. Rev. - Vol. 88 - (1905) - p. 353
58. In this connection see F. C. Bartlett: The social psychology of leadership, J. of the National Institute for Industrial Psych. - Vol. 3 - (1926) - pp. 188-193
59. The great religious awakening in New England and the Middle Colonies, Part I - Presbyterian Historical Society Journal - Vol. 14 - No. 2 - (1930) - p. 87. For a study presenting a very different point of view see H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty: Religious leadership and stability, Psych. Rev. - Vol. 36 - (1929) - pp. 56-82
60. The unadjusted girl, pp. 4-32
61. Elizabeth Robins: Maenadism in religion, Atlantic - Vol. 52 - (1883) - p. 496
62. Ibid: loc. cit.
63. S. G. Cole: The history of fundamentalism, p. 39

64. The Christians referred to themselves as a separate nation. There were the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Barbarians, and the new nation - the Christians. This, according to Prof. Paterson was an attempt on the part of the early Christians to secure self-esteem - the desire for recognition. (Mentioned during a conversation with Prof. Paterson)

65. In this connection see the following, J. Du Buy: Four types of Protestants, etc. Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. and Educ. - Vol. 3 - (1908) - pp. 165-209

66. For two excellent studies along this line see R. H. Whitbeck: The influence of geographical environment upon religious belief, Geographical Rev. - Vol. 5 - (1910) - pp. 316-324; also W. Classen: Landschaft und religiöses erleben, dargestellt am beispiel der Bretagne, Geographische Zeitschrift - Vol. 37 - (1931) - pp. 466-487

67. Cf. E. G. Dexter: The influence of weather on human conduct, Scientific Monthly - Vol. 23 - (1926) - pp. 322-330

68. Q. R. P. R. p. 17 note 1.

69. As for example when the '59 revival in America grew out of the fear following a financial panic, or when a plague produced the Cholera revival in Wales in 1849

70. op. cit. p. 55 - "les milieux plus rapproches de la nature primitive sont plus propices au Reveil revivaliste."

"It is useless to argue as to the moral and social value of these abnormal religious excitements. Unquestionably some good results follow them, directly and indirectly; but it is also beyond dispute that these benefits were purchased at the cost of much injury. We have no scales in which we can weigh the good and ill effects; but it is certain that the good effects of all mental epidemics are proportionally greater as these social emotions are checked and brought under the directions of intelligence." - C. S. Gardner.

CHAPTER IX.

REVIVALS EVALUATED

In the study of more recent revivals₁ the point was made that any attempt to evaluate them resolved itself into an answer to the following question: "Does the good which these revivals have produced compensate for the evil effects which have resulted from them? In attempting to evaluate revivalism in general we can use no better criterion.

In attempting an evaluation one is handicapped for two reasons. First, revivals are varied in character, and as a consequence their results are varied. In the second place there is a paucity of scientific data on the positive and negative results which come from revivals.

In regard to the first of these difficulties, I can only present general principles backed up by such specific instances as are available and thus deal with general trends.

In respect to the second, I propose to use all the scientific data available and draw from it whatever conclusions are warranted.
2

A. Positive values claimed for revivals by their advocates.

In much of the literature on revivals, written by those who are favorable to the movements, we find tremendous claims made for revivals as factors for good. One finds such statements as: "Society at large has been uplifted by revivals;" "missionary movements came from revivals;" "an efficient ministry has come from revivals;"

"institutions of learning owe much to revivals;" "strong churches have come from revivals."³ Most writers who make such generalizations fail to support them by actual scientific data. Instead there is offered a homiletic discourse of continued generalizations.

(1) The revivifying of the church.

The claim is generally made that revivals have always been responsible for the revivifying of the church. As a result of revivals people have become more impressed with the meaning of religion and its worth and as a result there has been a deepening of faith.

(a) Deepening of faith.

That this did take place as a result of certain revivals can not be doubted, but the facts in the case must be clearly considered. This claim is most often advanced in the case of two movements: (1) the revivals in New England shortly after the Revolutionary War which made their greatest impress upon the colleges; and (2) the revival which D. L. Moody conducted in Great Britain during 1873-74.

It should be admitted that the first of these revivals again turned attention to religion and "a quickening of interest resulted in widespread concern for spiritual welfare."⁴ In like manner the tide of skepticism in the colleges was turned and a wholesome religious quickening resulted.

However, certain facts must not be overlooked. The revivals were local and "were mainly the fruit of the faithful service of pastors, sometimes assisted by neighboring ministers."⁵ Great care

was exercised to avoid the emotionalism which had characterized the earlier revivals.

In somewhat like manner the revival under D. L. Moody (1873-74), we are told, had results which were of value to the church. "Something was done by it to brighten the ordinary services of the sanctuary. . . . It gave new impetus to congregational and religious activities over the whole land. . . . It provided a new succession of Christian workers."⁶

Here again certain factors must be considered. The movement was guided by D. L. Moody, "the great apostle of common sense." The whole movement had been characterized by sanity, graciousness, and charm. Every effort had been made to keep down undue excitement. That the tree which Moody nurtured bore good fruit is not to be wondered at. Unfortunately, few revivals have been in the hands of such men.

(b) Building up the membership of the church.

One of the main claims for revivals, closely akin to the preceding is that revivals cause the churches to be built up in membership. In evidence of this we find that some statistics have been compiled. However, as a rule those who present such statistics fail to take into account a number of important items.

"In considering revival statistics, the bare show of numbers proves very little. To make the audit both sound and useful, it would be necessary to tabulate ages, antecedents, and subsequent happenings."⁷ This, those who present statistics, generally fail to

do. Numbers never have been, and never can be, the measure of spirituality of any church or community. Under the stress of revival excitement many "press into the kingdom" who are totally unprepared for the tasks which such membership imposes.

Just what are the facts concerning the supposed tremendous increase in church membership incident upon revivals? In 1909, S. W. Dike made a study of the effect of certain revivals in New England. He used data "all drawn from New England and chiefly from the last three quarters of the nineteenth century, simply because other could not be readily obtained."⁸ The material which he gathered was from all New England, for four great revival periods. It covered as a whole 104,716 additions to churches in revival years. In addition he made a special study of the 337 churches most increased by revivals, they having had in all 25,935 additions.

This would seem to provide material for a study of the numbers added to the church through revivals. It is well to note some of his conclusions.

1. "A large decline in additions usually follows a revival."
(9)
2. "The depression following a revival seems to continue from four to six years."
(10)

According to S. W. Dike an intense revival with large additions is often followed by a prolonged period with very small gains. Approximately five years after a revival the downward movement reaches its lowest point and recuperation begins.

After studying two denominations involved in these revivals

- Baptist and Congregational - he was forced to the following conclusion:

3. "The annual average additions in the Baptist and Congregational churches having great revivals, for the next five years after the revival were not more than 8 per cent of what they were in the revival years." (11)

W. Dike's conclusion is that the claims made for additions to the church as the result of revivals are based upon insufficient evidence. The writer also feels that to draw really exact inferences one must study the years previous to and after the revival as well as the actual revival years.¹²

The Welsh revival of 1904-05 has often been quoted to prove that it was of value in greatly increasing the membership of the churches. While many statements have been made few real statistics have been offered. It was estimated that due to the revival there was a special increase of 80,000 in the four larger Non-Conformist denominations¹³, and that there was also in 1905 a similar abnormal increase in the Non-conformist Sunday Schools. What are the facts?

V. J. Morgan shows that if these same statistics are gathered for the years following the revival some revealing facts are discovered. "Owing to the reaction after the Revival, there was a decrease of about 20,000 in the membership of these four denomination in 1906-07, the two years succeeding the Revival; and as in the case of members, a similar decrease in Sunday School in

1906-07."¹⁴

(2) Social improvement.

Are communities socially improved by revivals? How much is there of heightening of moral tone?

(a) A reduction in evil living.

As one reads the story of the Welsh revival as reported by various visitors to the scene he finds many instances recorded of a change of living by the converts. It is told that long-standing quarrels were forgotten; enemies were reconciled, bad debts were paid, stolen property restored, and ancient wrongs righted.^{14-a} The miners who were converted no longer cheated their employers as they once had done. They ceased swearing, and treated their pit ponies more decently.¹⁵

But V. J. Morgan writing in 1909, four years after the revival declared that the claimed improvement was not in evidence then due mainly to the fact that the revival had not implanted a "vital religion" in the hearts of the people in "the industrial centers, the agricultural districts or the coal regions."¹⁶ Further, he declared that if in 1909 in attempting to discover the moral influence left by the revival "a plebiscite of the magistrates, solicitors, colliery owners, and prison officials were taken, their unanswerable reply would be in the negative."¹⁷

While, as will be later explained, the revival in Wales reduced drunkenness, there was not a like reduction in general crime. J. Rogues de Fursac writes: "If in place of drunkenness we consider

the other crimes of secondary importance . . . (fights, adultery, alimony, prostitution, etc) we see that their number has been only a little varied under the influence of the revival: 12,075 in 1905 against 12,950 in 1904, that is, a decrease of about 6%." ¹⁸ And these are the figures for Glamorgan county the section perhaps most affected by the revival. Furthermore, the chief of police of the main city of that county reported to J. Rogues de Fursac that he did not believe "that the revival had an appreciable influence upon Cardiff, . . . and crimes and misdemeanors were not less numerous." ¹⁹

On the other hand the Welsh revival seems to furnish an example of the power of revivals to diminish drunkenness. G. B. Cutten has presented excellent material to show that revivals function in this way. ²⁰ There have also been cases where they have actually taken the form of Temperance revivals. ²¹

After careful study, J. Rogues de Fursac was compelled to admit that the evidence for the favorable effect of Welsh revival was incontestable. ²² Likewise, the figures of V. G. Morgan seem to show that this decrease was not merely a temporary one. A table of convictions for drunkenness in Glamorgan County reads as follows:

1902	9,298
1903	10,528
1904	10,282
1905	8,164
1906	5,490
1907	5,615

(23)

For the city of Cardiff itself J. Rogues de Fursac gives the following table of the number of convictions for drunkenness:

1892	1,134
1897	1,661
1904	213
1905	244(24)

This table has been much quoted²⁵ to show the tremendous influence the revival had in decreasing drunkenness, but unlike many other writers J. Rogues de Fursac is unwilling to give the revival all the credit for the decrease. While not attempting to entirely this drop as due to the more effective application of the police licensing laws²⁶, he does feel that it is only fair to bear in mind the part which this enforcement played.²⁷

J. Howley reports that the '59 revival in Ireland also had a tremendous effect in reducing the consumption of intoxicating liquors. Thus "in the district of Excise, of which Coleraine is the center, comprehending a radius of perhaps ten or twelve miles by no means densely peopled, the falling off in the duty paid on spirits for the month was no less than £400 sterling."²⁸

B. Negative results of revivals.

(1) Undue stress upon emotionalism.

Turning to the other side of the picture we find that many charges are brought against revivals on the ground that through an undue stress upon emotionalism certain evils result. Those who are not in favor of revivalism ask why it is necessary to attempt to make men better by an undue appeal to their emotional natures. C. S. Gardner says: "One of the most pernicious superstitions that has hindered the progress of true religion is the notion, that the

operation of the Divine spirit is especially manifest in an overwrought emotional state in which the intelligence is swamped. Can any valid reason be given why we should expect the Divine Spirit to be present in human emotion more than in the operation of the reason and the conscience?"²⁹ The revival has tended to appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect or will with certain disastrous results.

(a) Results in the breakdown of certain types of personality.

As a result of this stress there has been a tendency for certain individuals to break down under the strain of excitement engendered by revivals. Those most easily affected are adolescents, and individuals sexually and psychically unstable.

(1) Revivals unduly excite adolescents.

W. K. Wright has pointed out³⁰ that one of the harms done by revivals is that they unduly excite many adolescents, making them nervous and morbid. The truth of this can be seen by a study of the effect of revivals upon young people. As G. Stanley Hall so clearly showed³¹ the period of adolescence is one of delicate mental and physical adjustment. E. D. Starbuck characterized it as one of "storm and stress" (sturm und drang).³² It is nothing short of criminal that at such a time the sweeping power of revivalism with its undue stress upon emotionalism should be focused upon young and tender souls. That this has often been done with disastrous results is the evidence one gains from a study of stories of revival converts.³³

(2) Highly sexed individuals often affected.

T. Schroeder states that after a study of some years he was lead to the conclusion that "every intense and widespread religious revival has produced increased sexual irregularity."³⁴ However, I do not find that Mr. Schroeder presents concrete data to support his thesis.

(a) Some revivals gave rise to much licentiousness.

Nevertheless, there have been evidences of sexual irregularity growing out of revivals and this tendency must be taken into account when we evaluate the movements. We have direct evidence of such irregularity in the early American "frontier revivals." W. B. Posey says:

"There was much evidence within the camp grounds of the mingling of human passions 'not sanctified by grace.' The high degree of moral laxity is revealed and the extent of misconduct is suggested in a plan made for 'regulating the camp at night to prevent adulterous proceedings. . . . When the people should sleep in the meeting-house, divide the sexes and let the elders lie between, but sit up at turns.'" (35)

The elders were also employed as watchmen and their vigilance did not go unrewarded.³⁶

C. F. Adams discussing³⁷ the sexual morals of New England in the eighteenth century has suggested the emotional excesses of the Great Awakening as the cause for the prevalence of fornication. This charge H. B. Parkes has attempted to refute³⁸, but to my mind not very successfully. Dr. C. Chauncey deprecated the "dangerous tendency" toward sexual immorality for which the awakening under

Edwards was largely responsible.³⁹

(b) Evidences of increase of illegitimacy.

There is also evidence that some of the revivals were marked by the production of illegitimacy. W. B. Posey records that in the camp-meetings "there was a loose interpretation of the seventh commandment."⁴⁰ We are not surprised to learn that "after the camp meeting illegitimate births took a sharp rise."⁴¹

A doctor whom Rogues de Fursac consulted during the Welsh revival suggested to him that he looked forward to a similar sharp rise in illegitimate births following the revival.⁴²

The reason for this is not far to seek. The close kinship of religious emotion and sexual emotion has long been noted by students of the subject. They are so closely related in fact that "a slight additional pressure given to it bursts the partition, and both are confused in a frenzy of religious debauch."⁴³

(3) Revivals often bring on religious mania, and insanity resulting sometimes in suicide.

One of the charges brought against revivals is that they often bring on religious mania, resulting in insanity and in some cases in suicide. V. J. Morgan states that as a result of the Welsh revival "hundreds were affected with melancholia and a few committed suicide in consequence."⁴⁴ This being the case we would expect a decided increase in the cases of religious insanity, during revival years.

J. Rogues de Fursac made a study of the cases of religious

insanity at the Glamorgan County Asylum, at Bridgen, Wales, with the following result as to the relationship of cases of religious insanity to cases of insanity from other causes:

1% in 1904
6% in 1905 (45)

It is only fair to state that the cases of insanity due to alcoholism decreased in the same period as follows:

16% in 1904
12% in 1905 (46)

Thus for cases of insanity in general an increase of only 1 per cent was recorded.

These figures would seem to show that due to insufficient data no generalization can be made. Further research must be conducted before the contention that "revivals cause insanity" can be proved or disproved. The problem awaits further investigation.⁴⁷

- (2) Stress upon the "explosive" type of conversion as the only legitimate one causes difficulties.

As was discussed in an earlier chapter⁴⁸ practically every revivalist has experienced conversion of the more explosive type and he continues to make the way in which he was converted the pattern for the conversion of those with whom he deals. As a result those to whom he caters are inspired to seek the same type of conversion.

- (a) Those who attain it look upon it as miraculous.

As a result those who do attain to this type of conversion

experience look upon it as miraculous. Being miraculous it is a proof that they are especially "beloved of God." Those attaining the much sought for experience even go so far as to sometimes deride those who are unable to attain unto it. Thus a narrow, bigoted standard of judgment upon character is produced. As a result, "it is undeniable that many people go back to their churches from these missions (revivals) full of spiritual conceit in which they look upon others in the church who are often better characters than themselves as unsaved."⁴⁹

(b) Those who do not attain it tend to despair.

Those who do not attain this experience are often in a sorry state of affairs. Unable to experience the process which the revivalist has outlined for them, they feel that their sin is so great as to forbid release from it; and so it is little wonder that melancholia results. Many of them could echo the words of one of E. D. Starbuck's respondents who declared: "I became deeply convicted of sin; . . . I spent much time in prayer, and had an awful sense of helplessness." There is little wonder that such people despair.

(3) Bitternesses and hatreds engendered.

One of the negative social results of revivals is that bitternesses and hatreds are often engendered. In a great many cases revivals have produced schisms in the churches and sown seeds of discord and hatred. Both L. W. Bacon⁵⁰ and W. M. Gewehr bear witness that this was the case in the Great Awakening.

"It increased dissent from the regular churches and either brought or hastened many schisms and controversies. 'Separatist' or strict Congregational churches appeared in New England, the Baptists split into Regular and Separate, while the Old Side - New Side schism in the Presbyterian church lasted from 1741-1758." (51)

It seems well to pause here to add that this feeling of bitterness and hatred engendered by revivals is not necessarily confined either to the time of the revival, or to religious affairs. Many other animosities are indirectly aroused. While F. M. Davenport is loath to declare that impulsive excitability which brought about certain hatreds in Kentucky was a direct outgrowth of the early revivals, he affirms that there is a decided coincidence that such hatreds should arise in a section which had been subjected to violent revivals.⁵²

While it would involve considerable research to prove the contention, I feel that much of the dynamic back of the excess lynchings in Kentucky was provided by the early Kentucky revivals. F. M. Davenport gives the following table:

1882-1903

Total number of black men lynched in Kentucky	95
Total number of white men lynched in Kentucky	<u>61</u>

In all	156
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In the county of Logan	14
In the county of Simpson	6
In the county of Todd	<u>6</u>

Total.	26 ⁽⁵³⁾
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F. M. Davenport further shows that although the 1900 census

showed Kentucky to have upwards of two million, the population of these three contiguous counties was only upwards of fifty thousand. Therefore, a region containing only one-fortieth of the population of the state and not much more than one-fortieth of the area, was responsible for one-sixth of all the cases of lynching. Logan county, alone, with one-eightieth of the population, is to be credited (or discredited?) with one-eleventh of the lynchings.⁵⁴

When we consider that these three counties formed the chief area of propagation for the Kentucky revivals of 1800, the records of which have been referred to in this thesis, it is difficult not to believe that there is a direct connection between the revivals and the hatreds engendered; hatreds which resulted in the above terrible record. Such a record tends to make one question the type of religion exhibited in these revivals.⁵⁵

(a) Denominational differences magnified.

Cal Ogburn shows that in the early pioneer revivals denominational differences were magnified and such a thing as a union meeting would have been impossible. When some "weak-kneed brother," as he was called, broke the unwritten law of his church by attending the revival of some other, it brought down upon his well-meaning head a keen rebuke from those in ecclesiastical authority over him.⁵⁶

(1) Ministers derided.

It is notorious that revivalists have usually been poorly educated and as a result they have tended to deride education. The

ministers of settled charges have come in for special censure. In the Great Awakening some of the followers of George Whitefield, who were in many cases uneducated men, openly attacked the ministers who were settled in parishes, charging them with lack of concern for the souls of their congregations, referring to them as "Drowsy Saints, Dry Bones, Unconverted Men, Blind Guides, Wolves in Sheep's Clothing, Ahabs, Amaziahs, Scribes and Pharisees."⁵⁷

Such derision was not confined to the earlier revivals. V. J. Morgan stresses the fact⁵⁸ that during the Welsh revival when emotionalism was at height the ministers were by no means appreciated, even Evan Roberts having no time for them.

The seeds of strife continue to be sown. Communities are still at times "rent in twain" because of the discord aroused by some revivalist. Revival preachers still continue to preach hatred, bigotry, and all uncharitableness in the name of the Nazarene. It is no wonder then that revivals and revivalists are often opposed by the orthodox clergymen who are distressed to see their labor of years ruined by the censoriousness of such men.⁵⁹

(4) Inadequacy of results.

Another charge brought against revivals is the inadequacy of results. Although great numbers are reported as being brought into the kingdom the number that actually become "workers in the vineyard of the Lord" is exceedingly small. So those not in favor of revivals stress the fact that it must never be forgotten that a revival movement cannot be said to be a success merely because of the crowds

which attend the meetings, the enthusiasm which is kindled, or the number who stand up to be counted.⁶⁰

- (a) Disparity between number of converts and number who affiliate with the churches.

When great numbers of converts are reported we would expect a great number of additions to the churches, but as was shown earlier in the chapter this result does not usually follow. "The disquieting fact is that the increase of Church membership after . . . special efforts (revivals) is discouragingly small."⁶¹ Why is it that so many never reach the church while others fall rapidly away?⁶²

- (1) Difficulty on part of converts in adapting themselves to church life.

In the first place the people who have been thrilled by the emotional atmosphere of the revival find it very difficult to make a place for themselves in the religious atmosphere of the average church. As long as their emotional nature was being fed they could keep interested, but having been "pumped up" to a certain pitch their natures demand continued "pumping" which the church does not provide. E. A. French puts it quaintly as follows:

"Those brought in with the first during a revival are usually those who linger in the porch of the Christian churches. They tarry near, and when any excitement is provided within, they hurriedly enter; but many of them sit as near the door as possible, ready to steal out when excitement is past. They are eager to be recruited and almost as ready to be demobilized - or to demobilize themselves."⁽⁶³⁾

In the second place revivals tend to cheapen religion in the minds of pseudo-converts. Having passed through a pseudo-convers-

ion which they were made to believe was genuine, they think that all conversions should be like their own. People who have instead passed through some deep experience that has enriched their lives and given them a comforting sense of God's presence and help, are looked upon as ignorant dupes if not plainly irreligious.

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(2) Hasty admission of converts to church life.

One of the reasons why so many of the converts fall away after having enlisted is due to hasty admission of the converts to the privileges of the church. Most revival conversions are definitely mimetic.⁶⁵ If the results are to be conserved definite and careful instruction must be given in the responsibilities of church membership. W. T. Stead warned concerning the Welsh revival that a great duty would be laid upon the churches to supply fresh interests for new converts and to prepare them adequately for membership.⁶⁶

(b) Failure of revivals to reach the unchurched.

Furthermore revivals do not, as a rule, reach the unchurched. Great masses of men and women are never touched by them. "Revivalism has secured its results chiefly from Christian congregations; it has made few conquests from the unchurched masses of men."⁶⁷ This was shown in the study of the Torrey-Alexander meetings where the great per centage of the people "converted" were people who had been nominal church members.⁶⁸

(5) Revivals are often followed by periods of great spiritual "dryness."

We have already seen that revivals are usually followed by

periods of spiritual "dryness."⁶⁹ The "burnt over" revival territory is usually quite fallow ground for a number of years after a revival has swept over it. The Great Awakening in New England subsided very swiftly, "to be followed by a period of widespread religious indifference."⁷⁰ S. P. Hayes claims that there was a half century of this popular indifference with a very low state of religious and moral life.⁷¹ The same testimony has been given concerning other revivals. Often times they are followed by "a desolation which resembles the track of a tornado."⁷²

C. The present status of revivalism.

(1) Revivalism in decline

Every indication seems to point to the fact that revivalism is in decline. S. W. Dike tell us⁷³ that revivals will no doubt have a much less important place in the religious effort of the future. G. B. Cutten stresses the same point.⁷⁴ Most of the revivalists who answered the questionnaire of C. Stelzle were of the same opinion.⁷⁵

Such being the case what are the factors which have brought about this decline? G. B. Cutten believes it is because men have changed; they have grown.⁷⁶ L. W. Lang says the decline is "owing chiefly to the influence of education and better economic conditions of life."⁷⁷

(a) Lack of a message adequate for the times.

To my mind both G. B. Cutten and L. W. Lang are right in

their contentions. Man has changed; times have changed. Therefore man demands spiritual food different from that offered his grandfather, or at least the same food presented in a different way. Cannot the whole proposition be summed up in the statement, Revivalism is in decline because it fails to present a message adequate for modern needs. "There is little that is new in modern evangelistic (revivalistic) preaching. Certain medievalisms have been dropped, certain other ideas of the fathers have had their clothes changed in an attempt to make them more acceptable for our time."⁷⁸

(1) The spread of liberalism has made most revival theories out of date.

Revival sermons have always been theologically conservative.⁷⁹ The truth of this statement is borne out by the material presented in a previous chapter.⁸⁰ As theological opinion has changed revivalists have made some attempt to readjust their doctrines, but they have been very tardy in the process. In recent years people in general have come in contact with liberal thinking in such a way as to move ahead of the revivalist and his message. Through such mediums as newspapers, cheaper magazines, the wireless, etc., the liberal theology has permeated into the minds of men and women who a few years ago had no such contacts and opportunities. The "popular mind" of to-day is far different from what it was even a half century ago. As a result the theories of the revivalist are frankly out of date. It will be of value to briefly mention three phases of the revivalist's message which are affected.

- (a) There is a new attitude toward the Bible which forbids making use of it as the revivalists once did.

As a part of this whole intellectual movement which has spread throughout the world has come a new attitude toward the Bible. The Bible is no longer considered an inerrant revelation containing "a meticulous formula for salvation." As a result of this change in attitude the revivalist can no longer appeal to the Bible as he once did.

"Whether we like it or not, we have to submit to the fact that we are not able to use the Bible in our work as it was used in the inquiry room of the last (D. L. Moody) revival. That generation of workers could put the Bible into anyone's hands and say, 'Read that! Accept that literally as the word of God to you and the way of salvation is open.' We cannot do that now." (81)

The more the newer and more reasonable interpretation of the Bible permeates the more difficult it will be for the revivalist to secure response, for the newer interpretation is such as to "give the lie" to his preaching and methods.

- (b) The revivalist's theory of human nature has been undermined by modern thought.

The revivalist's method of winning decisions through emphasis upon man's sinfulness and the necessity of salvation to escape an endless hell has become exceedingly difficult under modern conditions. The individual has discovered himself.⁸² Through a new and better understanding of the real meaning of conversion men have been led "to look inside themselves rather than up to God for salvation."⁸³ They have revolted against the old creedal approach. The old pro-

nouncement of doctrine - "Whosoever will be saved, it is necessary that he believe" - has lost its force. Man has come to prefer the psychological approach to reality in place of the old dogmatic approach which the revivalist purveyed.⁸⁴

- (c) The universe which the revivalist's scheme of redemption fitted has passed out of the thought of educated men.

Perhaps the most profound intellectual force in recent times has been the doctrine of evolution. The understanding of this theory and the acceptance of its tenets has done much to undermine the work of the revivalist. This doctrine has caused the conception of the universe to which the revivalist's scheme of redemption fitted to pass from the thought of man. "It has transformed every aspect of life and interest of the human mind."⁸⁵ By teaching men to look for God, not in the exceptional and the miraculous, but in the regular and ordinary, not in the crisis, but in slow and continual growth, much of the weft and warp of the revivalist's doctrinal fabric has been destroyed. In the light of such knowledge men have felt compelled to move "out of the psychological climate in which such conceptions as a ruined world, a miraculous redemption, an infallible Bible, an endless hell of literal fire, seem natural."⁸⁶

Much territory has been explored since the days of the early revivalists and the old road maps are no longer adequate.⁸⁷ When in the days of high-powered motors the revivalists persist in using methods and presenting a message acceptable to "ox-cart" days, we need not be surprised to find that their appeal is falling upon

deaf ears.

(2) The failure of revivalists to present a social message.

The message of the revivalist proves inadequate, furthermore, because it has no social note for an age that has come to a "social consciousness." With one or two notable exceptions revival preaching has dealt with the individual so exclusively as to take little account of society in general. Revivalists have as a rule ignored the need of "a religion which will give men a sense of sin regarding social values."⁸⁸

The reason for this is no doubt to be found in the revivalist's intense interest in saving the soul of the individual. The narrowness of his purpose was such as to make him consider his work done when he had enabled man to escape from the punishment which threatened.

"When you had been the means of assuring a man escape from endless torment and given him the assurance of endless bliss, his condition and circumstances for the few remaining years of life were of very small account, and the call to improve them was drowned in the cry to save more souls from hell. Such an evangelism (revivalism) can pursue its way unencumbered by the sense of social obligation." (89)

Revivalism furnishes many instances of this interest in saving men from sin while allowing them to suffer from social injustices which need to be righted. H. Bois contends that the Welsh revival did not realize a social program, and did not preach a social gospel.⁹⁰

Two examples of the interest of revivalism in "saving

souls" while neglecting the social needs are of interest.

Rev. John Watson states⁹¹ that in an early day what was thought of as an "aggressive work" of revivalism was the sending of a "lantern mission" to the slums. A meeting was held by the missionaries in the court yard of some slum settlement and special attention was directed to a lantern which they fastened upon a pole. On each side of the lantern was placed a scripture text - "For God so loved the world, etc. - which by the light of the lantern might be read by the slum dwellers from their windows. J. Watson rails at the inadequacy of such a revivalistic method. He says:

"To-day it would be thought a bitter irony to invite people living, father, mother, grown up sons and daughters, in one room, without light or air or sanitary accommodations, to think of the love of God. What evidence had they of His love, or of the love of their fellow-men? How could they be Christians in the circumstances in which they were living? To-day the desire would be, not to send a lantern with a text, but to send an inspector to examine the property; not to give money for preaching in the courts of that description, but to give money for pulling down such courts altogether." (92)

Revivalism has concentrated its efforts so much upon personal salvation as not to have time for social salvation. It still continues to do so. J. M. Yard records⁹³ that at the time of a recent lynching in Shafer, North Dakota, a Presbyterian minister who refused to co-operate with the Federal Council of Churches in investigating the matter wrote as follows:

"The last several weeks in our gracious revival in Watford City and these two weeks in our revival work in Fairview I have been laboring for the saving of lost souls and

my duties in this, his work, are so heavy and confining that I have not time or adequate ability, I am afraid, to be of any help." (94)

Is it any wonder that revivalism has lost its hold when its social message can be epitomized in examples such as these. Revivalism has ignored the truth of the following revision of one of our Lord's commands: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and God's righteousness, and the salvation of souls will be added unto you."⁹⁵

(2) The present tendency is for revivals to appear only among the more primitive and less intelligent groups.

Since the decline of revivals has in the main come about because men have grown⁹⁶ we should expect them to appear mainly among the less civilized peoples and the more primitive members of civilized nations. Study of the more recent revivals bears out this contention which was first enunciated by F. M. Davenport a quarter of a century ago.⁹⁷ Almost as long ago H. Bois declared that as the "sun of truth" shone more and more brightly revivals could be expected to decline.⁹⁸ G. B. Cutten feels that they will be confined to primitive people - the aborigines and American negroes - and to the Oriental nations, where "great revivals will probably continue until they have reached our standard of civilization and intelligence."⁹⁹

Revivals in America - "the land of revivals" - are less and less frequent in the East, but continue to appear in the more primitive sections of the South and Middle West.¹⁰⁰ What appeal is made must be made to those in the lower intelligence quotient of the population.

D. Although revivalism is passing away, the spirit of evangelism is very much alive.

In conclusion it must be frankly admitted that an unbiased view of revivals demands that one record that certain good has been accomplished by them.¹⁰¹ While they have produced many quasi-conversions with their resultant harm¹⁰², there have been individuals touched by revivals and brought into active service in the church.¹⁰³ Further it must be admitted that even when revival conversions are accompanied by abnormal phenomena they sometimes result in lasting good. However, it should be kept in mind that the good results in spite of the process rather than because of it.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the revival movement "has contributed little or nothing to theology, nothing to the science of ethics, and has stood aloof from and discouraged science, poetry, philosophy, and the fine arts."¹⁰⁴ In consequence the movement will continue to decline.

Yet the decline of revivalism in no way presages any diminution of evangelism. The soul and spirit of the Christian church is its evangelistic zeal. The Great Commission is as binding as ever upon the church. The lesson of history proclaims that the first and permanent concern of the church is evangelism. The revival of the future will be true evangelism working itself out for the good of men in the sight of God.

While the death knell of revivalism has been struck, the Christian message will be carried forward under the inspiring aegis of Evangelism, which appeals not to the pathological aspects of

man's nature, but to the reasonable and rational part of his being. Already the battle cry has sounded; divisions of the army are being formed. The final chapter will deal with those divisions and the work which they are accomplishing in "the conquest of the world for Jesus Christ."

NOTES

Chapter IX.

1. Chap. 7 - "Modern Revivalism"
2. Examples of this scientific data are to be found in such studies as the following: (a) On the early American revivals see the following in the bibliography - (169) - (266) - (440); (b) on the recent Welsh revival see J. Rogues de Fursac: M. M. C. pp. 43, 45, 122, 124-128, 130-132; F. M. Davenport: P. T. R. R. pp. 301f. V. J. Morgan: W. R. R. pp. 589ff.
3. Cf. H. C. Fish: A handbook of revivals, Chap. 3 - "What We Owe to Revivals"
4. H. K. Rowe: A history of the Christian people, p. 377
5. Ibid: loc. cit.
6. W. J. Couper: Scottish revivals, p. 150
7. E. A. French: (Ed.) Evangelism, a re-interpretation, pp. 172-173
8. S. W. Dike: A study of New England revivals, Amer. J. of Soc. - Vol. 15 - (1909) - p. 372
9. Ibid: p. 373
10. Ibid: p. 374
11. Ibid: p. 375
12. Thus S. W. Dike gives that statistics on membership as much as ten years before and ten years after the actual revival "peak" years.
13. Congregationalists, Calvinistic Methodists, Baptists, Wesleyans.
14. op. cit. p. 248
- 14-a. Cf. H. Bois: R. P. G. pp. 586-588
15. Ibid: p. 600
16. op. cit. p. 254
17. Ibid: loc. cit. (The italics are mine)
18. op. cit. p. 127. "En effet, si au lieu de l'ivrognerie, nous considérons les autres délits d'importance secondaire (rixes,

- adulteration d'aliments, prostitution, etc.), nous voyons que leur nombre n'a que peu varié sous l'influence du Réveil: 12.075 en 1905 contre 12.950 en 1904, soit une diminution de 6% environ."
19. Ibid: p. 43. "que le Réveil ait eu sur Cardiff une influence morale appréciable, . . . et les crimes et délits ne sont pas moins nombreux."
 20. See his Psychology of alcoholism, pp. 280-282
 21. Cf. The Irish Temperance revival. See Father Augustine: Theobald Mathew, apostle of temperance, Catholic Encyc. - Vol. 10 - pp. 47-48
 22. A. C. Underwood: C. C. N. C. p. 225 note 3. Cf. J. Rogues de Fursac: op. cit. p. 125
 23. From a letter from the office of the Chief Constable at Cardiff, Nov. 10, 1908. Quoted by V. J. Morgan: op. cit. p. 247 (The writer dispatched a letter to the Chief Constable at Cardiff in an attempt to check these figures and bring them down to date, but he received no reply.)
 24. J. Rogues de Fursac: op. cit. p. 45 One wonders why J. Rogues de Fursac did not include the year 1903 which by its proximity to 1904 would present a completer picture.
 25. Cf. A. C. Underwood: loc. cit.
 26. A. C. Underwood seems to feel that J. Rogues de Fursac wishes to explain the whole drop as due to the above reason. This is not the case. J. Rogues de Fursac merely insists that while the revival played a part the suddenness of the drop was not due to the influence of the revival alone.
 27. loc. cit. "Il me semble que ce petit tableau démontre l'efficacité de la méthode. Le Chief Constable a raison: rien ne vaut de bonnes lois appliquées par une bonne police."
 28. James William Massie: A visit to the scenes of revival in Ireland, Parts II & III of Revivals in Ireland, p. 37. Quoted by J. Howley: P. M. E. p. 136
 29. The psychology of preaching, p. 288
 30. A student's philosophy of religion, p. 253
 31. Adolescence, etc. passim.
 32. P. R. See esp. Chap. 17

33. For examples of such testimonies see E. D. Starbuck: op. cit. p. 174ff.
34. Religion and sensualism as connected by clergymen, Amer. J. of Rel. Psych. and Educ. - Vol. 3 - (1908-09) - p. 27
35. Emotional excesses of early Western camp meetings, Social Science - Vol. 5 - (1929-30) - p. 177
36. Ibid: loc. cit.
37. Some phases of sexual morality and church discipline in colonial New England, Proc. of the Mass. Hist. Soc. - Vol. 6 - (Second series) - (1890-91) - p. 477-516
38. The great religious awakening and sexual morals, New England Quar. - Vol. 3 - (1930) - pp. 133-135. He bases his opinion in the main upon the fact that there were fewer sexual irregularities publicly confessed in the years following the Great Awakening than in the years immediately preceding. To my mind this does not necessarily prove that the awakening decreased immorality. Before the revival less guilt was felt in such matters and people did not hesitate to confess their transgressions. After the Great Awakening a feeling was aroused that such acts were very sinful. Would not the tendency be to conceal lapses after friends and neighbors became more critical?
39. Quoted by T. Schroeder: op. cit. p. 24
40. loc. cit.
41. Ibid.
42. op. cit. p. 117
43. S. Baring-Gould: Freaks of fanaticism, p. 268. J. Rogues de Fursac shows how this occurred in the Welsh revival through the use of certain types of songs. He quaintly says: "Above all (it is) a revival of passionate song. While music is a powerful means of developing the mystical sentiment it is also a means of exalting the purely human sentiments; the emotion that is born could be deceived in its object addressing the creature rather than going to the Creator." op. cit. p. 118. "Enfin un Reveil de chant passionné. Or la musique, si elle est un moyen puissant de développer le sentiment mystique est aussi un moyen d'exalter les sentiments purement humains; l'emotion qu'elle fait naître peut se tromper d'objet et s'adresser à la creature au lieu d'aller au Createur."

The doctor previously mentioned based his predictions upon the close kinship of religious emotion and sexual emotion. He

also gave three points in regard to the revival which he felt would contribute much to bringing about sexual irregularity. These were:

- a. The revival was in the main one which made its greatest appeal to young people.
- b. Love, rather than discipline, was the theme of the revival preachers.
- c. The revival was characterized not by sermons which made one reflect, but rather by ardent prayers, and passionate song which exalted the purely human sentiments.
op. cit. pp. 117-118

44. op. cit. p. 245

45. op. cit. p. 125

46. Ibid: p. 124

47. While the study of revivals has led the writer to the personal opinion that they are responsible for a great deal of religious instability often resulting in insanity, the actual factual material in support of such a thesis does not seem to be available at the present time.

48. Chap. 6 - "Revival Conversions"

49. T. R. Williams: The true revival versus Torreyism, Preface - p. 6. This effect was noted in many places during the Welsh revival. One writer says: "It (the revival) has brought new difficulties; it has occasioned some friction, in churches between the older members and recent converts; it has stirred up the spirit of intolerance on both sides." H. E. Lewis: With Christ among the miners, pp. 179-180

50. A history of American Christianity, p. 169ff.

51. W. M. Gewehr: G. A. V. p. 9

52. op. cit. p. 304

53. From an extensive study of lynchings made by Dr. J. Elbert Cutler of Yale University. Quoted by F. M. Davenport: op. cit. p. 302.

54. op. cit. pp. 303-304

55. There of course arises the question as to whether the revivals engendered a spirit of hatred which inspired the lynchings, or whether people with such a spirit had merely proved to be good tinder for emotional revivals.

56. The pioneer religious revival, Annals of Iowa - Vol. 15 - (Third Series) - (1927) - p. 504
57. Two centuries of Christian activity at Yale, pp. 21-22. In one sermon preached at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, a New Light preacher (revivalist) during the course of his address is said to have referred to the settled clergy by the following names: "Hirelings, Caterpillars, Varlets, Foolish builders whom the Devil drives into the ministry, Dry nurses, Men possessed with the Devil, Rebels and enemies of God, Guides that are stone-blind and stone-dead, Salt without Savor that stink in the nostrils of God and man, Judases whose chief desire is to finger the penny and carry the bag, Subtle, selfish hypocrites that would not let one honest man come into the ministry if they could help it, Swarms of locusts, Crowds of Pharisees - who as nearly resemble the character given of the old Pharisees as one crow's egg does another, whose hearers are as blind as moles and as dead as stones - Successors to Nicodemus, Blind leaders of the blind, Formalists, Dead Drones, Sons of Scaeva." Quoted by C. C. Chauncey: Some seasonable thoughts on the state of religion in New England, p. 249. (I have recorded only about half the epithets which C. Chauncey listed)
58. op. cit. p. 188
59. G. W. Johnson: Saving Souls, Amer. Mercury - Vol. 2 - (1924) - p. 368
60. H. Bois shows how in certain French revivals the people who arose and were counted as converted, arose merely from an inborn sense of politeness. Q. R. P. R. pp. 92-93
61. R. C. Gillie: Religious revival; the necessity and means, Rev. of the Churches - Vol. 3 - (1926) - p. 170
62. E. D. Starbuck presents figures to show that in a certain revival almost two-thirds of the converts fell away before the end of six weeks. op. cit. p. 170
63. op. cit. p. 173
64. op. cit. W. K. Wright, p. 253
65. W. F. Alexander: Revivalism and mysticism, Contemp. Rev. - Vol. 89 - (1906) - p. 365
66. The revival in the West, p. 64
67. A. S. Hoyt: The new evangelism, Homiletic Rev. - Vol. 84 - (1922) - p. 278

68. Cf. T. R. Williams: op. cit.
69. Cf. S. W. Dike: op. cit. p. 374
70. T. B. Kilpatrick: New testament evangelism, p. 125
71. S. P. Hayes: A historical study of the Edwardean revivals, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 13 - (1902) - p. 573
72. From a letter by Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. Professor of Theology in Princeton Seminary, N. J., quoted in the Appendix of W. B. Sprague's: Lectures on revivals of religion, p. 6
73. op. cit. p. 377
74. P. P. C. p. 191ff.
75. Evangelism passing out in the churches.
76. op. cit. p. 192
77. A study of conversion, p. 209
78. E. A. Brown: Peril in modern evangelism, Methodist Rev. - Vol. 112 - (1929) - p. 446
79. Cf. E. S. Ames: The psychology of religious experience, p. 268
80. Chap. 4 - "Revival Theology and Preaching"
81. Wm. Cross: Our evangelical effort, Christian World Pulpit - Vol. 103 - (1923) - p. 69
82. C. O. Judkins: The next step in evangelism, Meth. Rev. - Vol. 114 - (1931) - p. 261
83. S. D. Chown: Some causes of the decline of the earlier typical evangelism, Biblical Rev. - N. Y. - Vol. 14 - (1929) - p. 505
84. Cf. W. H. P. Faunce: Religious advance in fifty years, Amer. J. of Theol. - Vol. 20 - (1916) - pp. 335-336
85. E. A. French: op. cit. p. 17
86. K. C. Anderson: "Revival and Intellectual Reaction" in T. R. Williams': op. cit. p. 16
87. Cf. E. A. Brown: op. cit. pp. 446-449
88. From a speech delivered by Rabbi Israel of Baltimore, Maryland, at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn. Jan. 18, 1932.

89. A. T. Cadoux: Evangelism old and new, Hibbert J. - Vol. 18 - (1919-20) - p. 584
90. op. cit. p. 36
91. The next revival, Brit. Weekly - Vol. 24 - (1903) - p. 566
92. Ibid: loc. cit.
93. I wonder about the church, The Christian - Vol. 8 - (1931) - p. 411
94. Ibid: loc. cit. (The italics are mine)
95. W. Rauschenbusch: Christianizing the social order, p. 465
96. G. B. Cutten: op. cit. p. 192
97. op. cit. passim
98. op. cit. p. 135. "Les Reveils revivalistes seraient destines a voir leur puissance decliner et palir a mesure que brillerait, plus pur et plus resplendissant, le soleil de la verite."
99. op. cit. p. 193
100. C. Stelzle: op. cit. p. 2
101. There is good reason to believe that the work of the English Christian Socialists was made decidedly more effective because of the Wesleyan Movement.
 One writer claims that the Great Awakening was directly responsible for the stimulus which resulted in the establishment of the American educational system. W. J. Chase: "The Great Awakening" and its educational consequences, School and Society - Vol. 35 - (1932) - pp. 443-449. Another writer denies this. He maintains that the impetus came from the Evangelical Awakening, a very unspectacular and quiet movement which took place some sixty or seventy years after the Great Awakening. L. A. Weigle: The new paganism and the coming revival, Yale Divinity News - Vol. 27 - (1930) - p. 1 (NOTE: This latter point of view seems the more logical of the two)
102. G. B. Cutten remarks that: "It takes two or three years for churches to get rid of the unsanctified riff-raff which is swept in on the tide of a revival." op. cit. p. 194. In this connection one wonders if G. B. Cutten is really fair. Is not one of the purposes of the church to deal with just such "riff-raff"? At least the founder of Christianity was not averse to such a ministry. However, G. B. Cutten no doubt means that "re-

vivalism" had much to do with making them spiritual riff-raff, which is no doubt true.

103. The writer knows a science professor in a university who was brought into the church under the preaching of W. A. Sunday when he had been unmoved by the preaching of settled ministers. His conversion was genuine, as was evidenced by his contribution to the life of the church throughout his long and useful life.
104. F. Granger: The soul of a Christian, p. 253

"The goal of evangelism is the production of Christ-like character and life in individuals and in society, through moral and spiritual conversion; by faith in and fellowship with God through Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord and Saviour; through sharing of a brotherhood life transcending all distinctions in the new divine society, the Kingdom of God on earth; and through becoming witnesses, in word and life by the power of the Holy Spirit, of this new life to others." - E. Stanley Jones.

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW EVANGELISM

A. The need for a new evangelism.

The recent statement of Prof. Rudolf Otto that "the evangelizing of a society which has become profoundly irreligious is to-day the first and greatest duty of a Christian fellowship,"¹ might well serve as a text for this chapter.

At the present time many are stressing the need of a new revival.² Fundamentalists think this new revival will in the main take the form of the older movements which we have studied, but will be greater in extent and will stress certain new issues. The more liberal writers, however, look forward to a "revival" of emphasis upon the central tenets of Christianity. With this latter view I am in full accord, feeling that this movement will find its sincerest expression through evangelism rightly interpreted.

What then are the issues which call for the renewed emphasis upon evangelism?

(1) Many problems demanding solution.

It is trite to say that we live in a world which has become exceedingly complex; but the statement is true nevertheless. To declare that we are tending toward simplification is basically false.

As Canon T. Guy Rogers so aptly says:

"Our forefathers lived in a world as far removed from us socially, politically, and economically as they did where astronomy or natural science is concerned. What we hear about the unification of the world misleads us. It suggests that things are getting simpler. It is nothing of

the kind. What it means is that the threads of every problem pass out of our sight and beyond our control." (3)

It is true that in many cases we face the same problems as did previous generations, but due to this complexity they find expression in a highly complicated form. We not only face more complex older problems, but we also face many exceedingly involved new ones. In the light of these facts the old evangel must be presented in a form applicable to this day.

It will be well to briefly consider some of these challenges which in many cases affect both rich and poor. Many writers are of the opinion that in any attempted evangelization every emphasis should be put upon the reaching of the masses - "the great unwashed."⁴ Such is not a true picture of the situation. All is not well with any social class. The problems of social righteousness are not to be solved by "converting" the masses. All classes of society have a part to play.

(a) International relations.

There is no more baffling problem at the present time than that of international relations. Although the World War ended more than fourteen years ago, the present world situation can only be described as - "grave". The seeds of discord have been sown, and thoughtful leaders are predicting that the crop will soon be ripe. Despite promising beginnings shortly after the war comparatively little progress in world amity has been made. The situation remains serious. "The Versailles Treaty itself injected into the world situ-

ation a set of circumstances inimical to the world's peace. Germany was torn asunder. The Polish Corridor became and still remains a thorn in Europe's flesh. Many other 'irredenta' problems emerge out of the post war negotiation."⁵ In the matter of international relations the world faces many "crisis-points"; there are many problems demanding solution. "Despite the peace treaties, a practical state of war has continued in the Far East and for the past several months a war has been in progress between two South American republics. Bitter international animosities have been engendered by tariff policies."⁶

One of the most vexing questions of international relations is militarism. The rising tide of militarism has been noted by many observers. In America "militarism is creeping into colleges and secondary schools - no, it is marching in, taking over partial control of curriculum, appointments to the teaching staff, and students."⁷

In keeping with this spirit we have Germany withdrawing from the Disarmament Conference as a protest against inequality with respect to armaments imposed upon her at the close of the war. The great World Disarmament Conference, looked to by many as presaging the way toward a peaceful world, has recessed with scant results to its credit.

The struggle for world justice, brotherhood, and peace continues to present a challenge to the Christian world.

(b) The race problem.

Another issue must be considered: "The rising tide of color." In Britain this is evidenced by the fact that exclusion of

Indians from certain hotels, clubs, restaurants, etc., is becoming more and more common.

In the United States there is, of course, the ever present problem of the Negro. While the number of lynchings has tended to decrease in recent years, the race antagonism continues. In a Christian world, so-called, a very un-Christian situation exists.

(c) The problems of social injustice.

That all is not well in Zion is evidenced by the fact of social maladjustments.

First of all, there are all the problems connected with industry. The day of industrial slavery is not ended. Many men are still compelled to labor for unfair wages. They are still in danger of being discharged when through no fault of their own there is no demand for their products. They still labor without adequate protection against the ravages of old age. Women in industry are compelled to work long hours, drawing wages which are in reality only a mere pittance, but they must continue in order to keep body and soul together. In some countries the problem of child labor is still acute.

It is in this connection that the narrowed world in which we live - narrowed thanks to the aid of science and invention - presents problems unknown to our forefathers; for the world has in reality become a neighborhood. Thus we must needs be interested in the problems of our neighbors.⁸ We need to consider carefully such problems as the following:

"The cotton mills of Japan, for example, where after four years' service only twenty out of every hundred women return to their homes, the greatest number falling victims to consumption. Or the South Sea Islanders kept in a state of semi-slavery for the production of soap. . . . If scientific discovery has opened the door with opportunity written on one side of it we find responsibility written on the other." (9)

To-day the whole theory of a capitalistic system is being challenged. Men are questioning the right of some few to be millionaires while many starve. The question of the "stewardship of wealth" is pressing for solution. "A problem as great as that of slavery confronts us. What forces are to rule? . . . Will self-seeking, the inordinate love of pleasure, the worship of gold instead of God, miserliness, and extravagance rule? or will love and good-will, devotion to the good, the true and the beautiful, the spirit of social service, and the socialization of wealth (coined service), ability, and strength?"₁₀

(d) The problem of crime.

The acceptance of the popular scientific view has been accompanied by general confusion concerning values and standards. There has come a widespread questioning of the authority which was formerly revered. In the midst of this multitudes of people have found themselves beyond their depths. Moral standards and customs - the mores of the sociologist - are undergoing ruthless revision. The result is a widespread tendency toward lawlessness.

The crime problem which confronts America has long been notorious. That the problem is appalling no one will deny. One writer

speaks of the situation as follows:

"Democratic government itself is menaced by the gangster and racketeer who kidnap and bomb and terrorize and murder with scarcely a fear of retribution. In one American city - by no means equal in size to Chicago or New York - dozens and scores of atrocious bombings have been committed within the past two years, with not one criminal conviction on record to bid the vicious perpetrators of these outrages to beware of society's awful rebuke. And New York's record of recent months! What a horrible thing in a civilized America! Unspeakably sordid disclosures of racketeering by elected magistrates in municipal activities and the vice of the slums. Children slaughtered by machine-gun bullets as rival criminal gangs pursue their bloody warfare along the crowded streets - with apparently not the slightest apprehension of punishment. 'Criminals and police battle along 12-mile front in New York Streets,' one newspaper account puts it." (11)

This crime wave, an aftermath of the war, is finding expression throughout the world. While not taking the primitive form in which we find it in America, a comparatively new country, nevertheless, it finds expression in the older countries as well.

The three great social evils - drink, gambling, and prostitution are still rampant. The forces of righteousness are still faced by the forces of evil. One cannot read the reports of British social workers without being impressed by the challenge which they present to the churches of Britain. The situation in Britain is but a reflection of a world situation.

(e) The problem of the changing status of the home.

The passing of the home as the dominant conditioning factor in religious and moral training is one of the most generally observed social facts. While some deterioration of the home has taken place,

the change has in the main been due to the supplanting of the influence of the home by other forms and agencies of social intercourse and entertainment.

"At base this phenomena is economic. The home was once the place where many of the life-sustaining processes were in large measure carried on, such as the production of food and clothing. Trades were practiced and taught in and about the home. These functions are now separated from the home. Furthermore, the women, who have been the integrating factor in home life, have more and more gone into industry, business and the professions and have made relatively less of their social contribution through the medium of the home. Not less important is the fact that the growth of the cities and the rising level of rents have resulted in crowding and in the elimination of many attractive features of home life." (12)

On the other hand there is much to show that where high ideals and wholesome habits are acquired by children it is usually because such children have been nurtured amid exceptional home influences. Hence the seriousness of the situation appears.

As was suggested above one of the most serious factors in the reduction of the status of the home is the housing problem. In civilized England we still have conditions such as these.

"In London - an Eastend street with 29 houses containing 733 people, many of the houses having only one convenience and one water-tap. Hundreds in another part suffering from consumption and obliged to share not only bedrooms but beds with others." (13)

Putting aside any question of public health, one need not be amazed that under such conditions the status of the home is not such as to exercise a very great influence.

Many of the cities of Britain face this appalling problem

of housing. Some are facing it with slum clearance plans, but there is much yet to be done. That the problem is still acute is witnessed by even a cursory study of the report of the health officer of the city of Edinburgh. As Professor Harry Miller has so aptly said: "The problem of providing a real home for every individual is one which has by no means been solved as yet."¹⁴

(2) The attitude of the church toward these problems.

In the preceding discussion no attempt has been made to comprehensively study the various social, economic, and spiritual problems which are present in the world today. It has been my purpose merely to show that Christianity faces a complex world, filled with complex problems demanding solution. How are they to be solved? Again I must reiterate that their solution can not be brought about by a "bigger and better revival." The only hope of solution is in a "more consistent and more consecrated evangelism."

What part has the church played in seeking to solve these problems? It must be frankly admitted at the outset that the church as a whole has not lived up to its mission. Allowing for brilliant and blessed exceptions¹⁵ one is forced to the conclusion that the church and its ministry has not been conspicuous for its ethical leadership in the solution of these vexing problems. One can quite frankly ask, What Guidance has the church through her ministry given upon these questions "that are as crying children begging to be taken in hand?"¹⁶

(a) The church fails to meet the needs of its own group. .

When we turn to a study of what the church is doing for its own constituency we are appalled by the lack of educational emphasis which we find. The church has always proclaimed its enthusiasm for the public education system, and in fact the church had a part in the establishment of that system.¹⁷ However, in pushing the education of children in the three R's, there has been a tendency to neglect the fourth R - righteousness. "Compared with our careful methods and more carefully trained teachers in the public (secular) schools, what more scathing condemnation does the Church deserve in anything than in her playing with the problem of our children's and young people's religious education and training in righteousness?"¹⁸

When we compare the Sunday school and the secular school we are amazed that the church should be willing to allow such poor provision for its children. The church has protested vigorously against the underestimation of religion and still she fails to provide adequately for her own children. "Organized religion has always insisted that religion is of primary importance in human life, and in view of this loud assertion of the Church it cannot be denied that the Church's education program has given the lie to the Church's claims concerning the supremacy of religion."¹⁹

Surely if the "Kingdom of God moves forward on the feet of little children," the church is to be indicted for its failure at this point. The children of to-day will be called upon to face the problems of to-morrow.

Moreover, this situation is not limited to the church's

obligation to her children. The church has also failed in great degree to properly enlist, train, and use the large proportion of nominal church members. Consequently the church has failed to develop the leadership which is so necessary if progress is to be made in the face of pressing problems.

(b) Denominational strife.

One factor quite definitely responsible for the failure of the church to assume ethical leadership is that of denominational strife. While the situation in Britain is far superior to that in the United States it is still true that the church finds it difficult to speak with a united voice on social issues. John Haynes Holmes writes: "Our churches are Methodist churches, Episcopalian churches, Presbyterian churches, Unitarian churches, Protestant churches, Catholic churches, first; and Christian churches, second."²⁰

That the denominational differentiation that has taken place since the Protestant Reformation has weakened the prestige of the church cannot be denied. As long as the church remains in this divided state it will be difficult for it to develop a creative consciousness that will bring to men a conviction of sin in regard to the present social order.²¹ Only as the church gains solidarity will it speak with greater authority in these matters.²²

(3) Before the church can present an effective program of evangelism it must purify itself.

The facts which have been presented drive us to one conclusion, namely, that the church, before it can present an effective

program of evangelism, must purify itself. There must come first of all a reformation from within. However, just as in former times, the church resists such reformation.

"The Church has been quite ready to start revivals without, to entice those who are on the outside of the fold to come within, or even to begin a reformation looking toward the remedy of a particular situation. . . . But it has strenuously resisted every attempt to have a cleansing itself."
(23)

It is thus not true and genuine Christianity that has failed to meet the need of this hour. "It is the Christian church, the self-proclaimed official representative of Christianity, which has failed to be true to its founder and which has so lacked both his spirit and his power that it has been signally impotent to meet the world's demand for salvation (24) in the manifold affairs and directions of human life."²⁵

To revive the Church itself is the task of the New Evangelism. The need of the world in its present difficulty and distress is to be met only in a new and truer presentation of the religion of Jesus. In the light of these facts it is absurd to suppose that what the world needs is a group or a series of so-called revivals, however widespread they may be. As a matter of fact the fewer we have the better it will be for the Church and for the welfare of mankind at large.

Specifically, what gospel is it that this revived church is to preach? Surely not merely a gospel of social service. No! It must be that Gospel which first deals with the renewal of individual

life by the power of God. The church needs to be convinced that the earnest, persuasive, and contagious proclamation of that Gospel, by witnessing word and confirming deed, continues to be the primary obligation of the Christian church. Again, the church needs to be equally convinced that, while the Gospel must first be lodged in the heart of the individual as a transforming power, it cannot be confined there but must be fearlessly applied to all the complicated relationships which comprise the range of social life.

"To be re-Christianized itself, root and branch, in principles, policies, and procedure, in every phase and form of its organized life and in the secret places of its own inner experience of reality, is the solemn necessity confronting Christianity today." (26)

B. Certain evangelistic movements seeking to make Christianity more effective.

We find that here and there the church has caught a new vision of the possibility of the use of evangelism in the place of the older method of revivalism. To some these new movements are but revivalism finding expression in a sublimated form. To the writer, however, they represent an attempt on the part of Christian leaders to do an effective piece of evangelistic work in the light of new conditions. That these movements do not cope with the whole problem their advocates would be the first to admit. However, unless one learns to walk he can never learn to run. These movements are of value even though they provide only a partial solution.

(1) The Oxford Group.

One of the most distinctive religious movements in recent

years is one which has for its purpose the re-establishment of first century Christianity. The movement began under the direction of Rev. Frank M. Buchman, a young Lutheran clergyman. The advocates of the movement look upon him as a God-sent leader. One writer declares: "When the Church fails, God sends a man."²⁷

"Since the Middle Ages there have been three awakenings, each about two centuries apart, each of which forced upon a reluctant world some neglected aspect of truth. Saint Francis sought to free men from bondage to things, Martin Luther from bondage to institutions and dogmas. John Wesley from lethargy."²⁸ Frank Buchman discovered anew the power which lies hidden in simple Christian platitudes.²⁹

Frank Buchman, who belongs to the fellowship of William James's twice-born has been the subject of one of Harold Begbie's unique studies of men whose lives have been changed under the influence of religion, so changed that they thereafter demonstrated unusual power. A definite change in Frank Buchman's life took place at Keswick, England in 1908. Those who are familiar with the Keswick movement can easily recognize in Buchmanism an adaptation of that movement brought up to date.³⁰

In the years following the war Frank Buchman became more and more convinced "that the most neglected and ill-handled field of spiritual endeavor in the English-speaking world was to be found in the colleges and universities of Britain and America."³¹ He, therefore, laid hold of the week-end house party as a means of coming in contact with this group.

The first of these house-parties took place in the summer of 1918 at Kuling, a Central China summer resort, with a group of about a hundred Chinese and foreign Christians - missionaries, pastors, statesmen, business and professional men. Since then there has been a growing number of house-parties in both England and America.³²

"They range in size from twenty to a hundred and fifty or more. The place is a country inn, a hotel, or private residence, according to the demand for space. The period of time extends from a week-end to a week or ten days. Youth in the twenties is more in evidence than age, but there are now a growing number of parents, teachers, and older people who come and have learned that a searching Christian experience is no prerogative of the younger generation. Professions represented are apt to run all the way from selling news papers and bootlegging to presiding over schools and theological seminaries. Younger business men and their wives, college undergraduates, society girls, and stenographers make up the balance." (33)

When the "church in the house" has assembled there is really no set program offered.

"Groups are held in the living-room, and people are free to come or go as they choose. Informality is the order of the day. The basis of the invitation is friendship and this, together with the times when simple introductions are in order, makes for a relationship among those present that is warm and personal.

The object of the house party is frankly to relate modern individuals to Jesus Christ in terms which they understand and in an environment which they find congenial. The fundamentals of the Christian message are covered in a series of informal talks on Sin, Surrender, Conversion, Guidance, and the rationale of intelligent witness, or how to convey to another one's own experience of Christ. Bible study usually takes up an important part of the day. Separate groups for men and women often divided as to age and profession, provide an opportunity for discussion of various problems connected with sex or money or life work in a more intimate vein than is possible in a mixed gathering. Each morning opens with a time of united quiet, dur-

in which thought is directed toward God in full conviction that, to a mind and heart eager to discover it, He can make known His will. The evenings provide a period when anyone can talk who wants to." (34)

The emphasis of the work is upon the principle of personalized evangelism as essential to Christianity and absolutely essential to all progress. The individual is brought to a position of spiritual leadership by the completion of five steps. These are:

1. Confidence - the natural development of friendly acquaintance.
2. Confession - the normal result of intimate friendship when barriers are levelled and each sees the other as he is.
3. Conviction - of sin, is the normal result of the impact upon a man of a quality of life which he instinctively knows to be superior to his own, the lack of which he recognizes as an offense against God, and as his fault and only his.
4. Conversion - the radical change of values brought about by God's Spirit working in the heart.
5. Continuance - the lifelong process of growth familiar both to religion and to psychology." (35)

In what way is conversion in the Oxford Group any different from that selfish type of conversion which was often so characteristic of the revival? Does this movement seek to stir the social consciousness of individuals. Its defendants would answer in the affirmative.

"They (the groups) sympathize with efforts to remedy economic ills by legislation and to awaken a more sensitive social conscience. They realize, too, that these, . . . are not final solutions, because they seek to mold men's conduct in one area without sufficient reference to man's primary need in every area, which is God. They are palliatives, not cures." (36)

Thus they maintain that the groups lay main emphasis not upon modifying men's actions but on changing men's lives. They are convinced that "nothing short of a coalition of individual spiritual regenerations will serve to produce that corporate spiritual regeneration which we so need."³⁷

What can be said in evaluation of this movement? Many have referred to it as "the new revival."³⁸ Others, pointing to its extreme emphasis upon sex, at least at the beginning of the movement, have had a tendency to discredit it.³⁹ To still others the movement seems to be too much detached from the travail and burden of the time, and to secure "for those who have been converted by it a happiness to which possible no one has any right in a world of unhappiness."⁴⁰

None can deny that the movement has made a real contribution. Its existence would be justified if it had done nothing else than to re-emphasize the importance of the fact that "God is real to a man only in proportion as he seeks to apply in his own life the moral standards of Jesus Christ."⁴¹ Whether the movement will inaugurate a new epoch only time can tell. To the mind of the writer, however, this is unlikely. As indicating a necessary trend in religion the movement is of great value, but it attacks only partially the problems which demand a new evangelism for their solution.

(2) The Forward Movement.

An evangelistic movement of a very different order is the Forward Movement of the Church of Scotland. This movement received

its first impetus from Dr. Donald Frazer. He saw that in a day of economic crisis it was necessary that interdependence of nations be stressed. Isolation and prosperity were, he declared, an impossible combination, for the world does not live by bread alone. The church, having more than bread to give, must proclaim its gospel with renewed emphasis and vigor. "That Gospel which defeats the fear and suspicion which make for war, and lifts the depression which lowers the vitality of men and nations."⁴² This Gospel the church must freely give to the world.

However, he realized that while the church had officially taken its stand on the side of the Gospel to be proclaimed to the whole world, a great part of the members of the church stood aloof and indifferent, or actively opposed and sneered at this expression of God's will for the world. The hope of the world, he declared, was in the powerful revivifying of the church from within. It was here that one was to look for a forward movement.

"The world presented an open and inviting field to the Church. The greater task before them could not be done without a reinforcement of spiritual life and strenght in the membership of the Church. There was a call to the Church in pulpit and in pew to consecrate itself anew to God and His worship; to reaffirm the supreme and universal authority of Christ and the laws of God's Kingdom in the nation; its social and industrial life; and throughout the world; and to register anew its devotedness to the missionary purposes for which it had been set up."
(43)

It was planned that the movement should be given its official impetus at a Congress of the church to be held at Glasgow in October, 1931. In preparation for this Congress it was asked that

every congregation think, work, and pray for the success of the deliberations at that meeting. It was stressed by W. P. Paterson that "this Congress should begin with a call to repentance."⁴⁴ In defense of this statement he pointed out that a call to repentance had played a large part in every forward movement mentioned in the Scriptures. Further, that the church of the present day has many heinous sins which must be confessed and repented before the church can do justice to its high calling.

The writer was present at the Congress in Glasgow and was truly amazed to see with what high seriousness the challenge to the church was met. He sincerely hoped that the serious nature of that challenge would be such as to truly impress all members of the church with the urgent need for their assistance. One could not but wonder if this great movement would continue to ~~wax~~ stronger and stronger, or whether like the ill-fated Inter-Church World Movement it would be strangled in its swaddling clothes. It was the sincere hope of this writer that the latter fate would not befall the movement.

There was one especially hopeful sign, yet one which carried with it the need of great faith in mankind. This is summed up in the following paragraph and provides an epitome of the movement and its purposes.

"I am well aware that many ask, 'What is this Forward Movement?' The only answer that one can give to such a question is, 'It is just what you make it.' For if the movement were a plan, easily described as A plus B plus C, no self-examination or spiritual response would be necessary. It would then be a programme, external and artific-

ial, to be accepted, or rejected. But it is not a simple piece of mechanism; it is a call to a spiritual response which every member and every congregation must make." (45)

(3) The Kingdom of God Movement.

The Kingdom of God Movement which is at present under way in Japan is in reality the outgrowth of a vision of service conceived in the heart and mind of Toyohiko Kagawa, "an eminent writer, social worker, and Christian mystic."⁴⁶ After more than twenty years of work in the slums of Kobe he suddenly came to the realization that the social gospel was not to be looked upon as a substitute for the Gospel which Jesus Christ preached in Galilee. To think in such terms was to preach no gospel at all - only a program of social reform. Conversely, he was led to see that the Christian ministry must be thought of in social and not merely individualistic terms. He became convinced that it was because faith was too individualistic that the present church organizations are facing a crisis.

"Why? Because we are not bearing the fruit of what Christ has taught us. . . . We go to church simply because our fathers did. Our faith and our daily life have drifted far apart. But believing in the living God means to bring our lives up to God's standard. We must live in God at every moment, and present our bodies and souls acceptable to him. It is because we have thought that there is no connection between our daily life and our faith that we have been led into this present collapse. We must ask God to capture our whole being, and to cleanse and purify us."
(47)

Seeking to remedy this situation T. Kagawa was instrumental in launching a forward movement which had for its goal the winning of a million souls. The movement was later christened the King-

dom of God campaign.

The program of this campaign Mr. Kagawa based upon the first sermon which Jesus preached.⁴⁸ Kagawa explains the program as follows:

"In the sense in which Jesus Christ used the word, the 'Gospel' means 'emancipation'. . . . His Gospel of emancipation means five things:

1. Economic emancipation ('preaching to the poor')
2. Psychological emancipation ('healing the broken-hearted')
3. Social emancipation ('preaching deliverance to the captives')
4. Physical emancipation ('recovery of sight to the blind')
5. Political emancipation ('setting at liberty them that are bruised')" (49)

The campaign has now spread until it embraces the Christian forces of the Japanese nation, but Kagawa is still the throbbing heart of the movement. Under his guidance these Christian forces have taken shape, and he has dedicated his life to the dissemination of his full-orbed gospel of love.

But what of the practical working out of the program of his campaign? What are his plans for the practical steps for progress in the movement? For an interpretation of this we can do no better than turn to the writings of Dr. W. Axling, Honorary Secretary of the National Christian Council. He explains it as follows:

"Mr. Kagawa is a modern mystic. He keeps his feet on the ground but his head and his heart lay hold on the unseen. He believes in prayer. His plan calls for the organization of a network of prayer clear across the empire, with early morning prayer-meetings in every church, monthly union prayer-meetings in every city and center, and an annual nation-wide conference for prayer and for the training of lay workers in evangelism.

He stresses district evangelism, personal evangelism, evangelism through literature, lay evangelism, and evangelism through service.

He urges special 'missions' to the rural people, the fishing folk, the miners and laboring classes.

He emphasizes the mass production of leaflets, pamphlets, cheap priced Christian books, and a large utilization of the daily press. (50)

He challenges every Christian to convert his home into a meeting place for a church. He appeals to every follower of Christ to become a teacher of children and the young, and to organize a neighborhood Sunday School in his or her own home.

He would have the churches in every city or town unite in holding short term, three months, Gospel Schools for the intensive training of Christians and lay leaders. He wants the churches to enlist, train and release, at once 5,000 lay preachers for this nation-wide evangelistic crusade.

Evangelism through service calls for the revival of the brotherhood movement within the church, the organization of co-operatives, the founding of educational guilds and mutual aid societies and 'missions' to every existing group and occupation." (51)

One is impressed by the sincerity of the leader of this movement. He is further impressed by the comprehensiveness of the program. One could wish that more such movements could come into being to make their contribution to the New Evangelism.

C. Christian education furnishes the only adequate program.

How then will the New Evangelism find expression? Not only through movements such as those I have described, but in a still more comprehensive way through Christian education rightly interpreted and understood. In the final analysis Christian evangelism and Christian education are synonymous terms.

To a great many people the statement that these two are but phases of one experience will come with somewhat of a shock. Never-

theless, it is true. "Religious education is now generally conceived to be a continuous process of religious experience."⁵² Without any modification this definition could be applied to evangelism.

"Education (religious) is the sum of all its definitions, plus; evangelism is the sum of all it is known to be, plus. The human personality is a whole big enough to recognize them both at once, give them their names, and know their meanings. Many seem to think it is either or between evangelism and religious education when it is really both and." (53)

Perhaps the best defense of the synonymous use of the terms is found in the definition of Christian Education given by G. A. Coe. In answer to the question, "What, then, is Christian Education?" he writes: "It is the systematic, critical examination and reconstruction of relations between persons, guided by Jesus' assumption that persons are of infinite worth, and by the hypothesis of the existence of God, the Great Valuer of Persons."⁵⁴

In this definition is to be found the theology, program, and purpose of the New Evangelism. The world's need will only be met by a religion which can make effective in human life such a program of religious education; it is in essence the New Evangel.

(1) Christian education finding expression.

The way in which Christian education will find expression in solving life's pressing problems can not be set down in any specific "cut and dried" program. No one would be so rash as to attempt to forecast a program for the future, for Christian education, rightly conceived, always has been, and will continue to be creative.

It is not a program but a challenge. One can only indicate certain possible directions which it should take, and certain elements which must be stressed.

(a) The worth of personality.

Christians have always maintained that they believed in the "infinite worth" of human personality; but many times this has been merely a phrase, lacking in real content. Rightly interpreted it would give to every individual distinct and measureless value as a child of God and a potential member of His Kingdom. If we are to rightly evaluate personality, we must recognize the value of self-activity of all persons. If persons are of final worth, then every particular instance of self-activity has within it something of unimpeachable validity. To discover just what this unimpeachable something is will sometimes require the taking apart of some social or psychical tangle; requiring also disciplined self-knowledge on the part of those who seek to the untangling.⁵⁵

In such ways will Christian education give content to the expression "the dignity of human nature."

(b) The true spiritual life.

Furthermore Christian Education will seek to present to men the true meaning of spiritual life. Its purpose will be to exemplify the indwelling of the divine power in the soul, and in the world. It will give expression to the truth that man can live at his highest and best only in so far as he seeks to emulate the life of Jesus. The divine genius of the gospel will be shown to men, not as

a code of laws, but as a spirit of life; a spirit "which impels and guides men to discover truth and righteousness in whatever time and condition they live."⁵⁶

(c) Society as a living organism.

When it is recognized that personality can fulfill itself only in a social setting, that its values can only be fully realized in fellowship, there will result a renewed emphasis upon the organic unity of human society. Then the ideal of human life as a universal brotherhood will be given new color.

As a corollary must come the stressing of the motive of service. Property being subordinated to spiritual ends, will be given social significance only as expressing a responsibility for service, while the claim to it will be justified only on the basis of service rendered.

(d) A religion of balance.

The most important item in this new program of evangelism will be the stressing of the fact that religion must be one of balance. As has been previously indicated religion cannot be merely a matter of social service. Neither can it be purely individualistic. The devotional side of religious experience must be given definite opportunity for expression. There will still be a place for the conversion experience - "the integration of personality" in the light of Christian knowledge. This process will still be central.

This experience will find expression through the calling into service of the whole of personality. Conversion will not be the

attempt to 'stampede' a man into the Kingdom by appealing to his emotions. Instead it will be the bringing of an individual into nearness with God through the exercise of the feeling, willing, and thinking faculties with which he has been endowed. This process will result in a conversion which expresses itself in a determination to seek the best and to do one's full duty in all fields of life. Hence it will embrace:

1. The duties of the individual toward God.
2. The duties of the individual toward himself.
3. The duties of the individual toward society. (57)

The individual will go forth fully equipped to bear his share of the responsibility in meeting the religious needs of the hour. This three-fold conversion will destroy the dichotomy so often evident between the latter two sets of duties.⁵⁸

(2) The program of Christian education.

The greatest problem facing the new evangelism is the development of a technique of motivation.⁵⁹ That no such technique has yet been developed is quite evident when we consider "that the psychology of motivation, and the quasi-psychology of it, have drifted here and there into disillusioning allegations, but without definitely proving them."⁶⁰ But the situation is by no means hopeless. As G. A. Coe again says: "Perhaps this disillusionment that threatens or seems to threaten paralysis . . . may turn out to be the vague, confused beginning of a new want, the darkness upon the face of the deep whence a new world is to appear."^{60-a}

Religion is in no position to despair. It has in its keeping that dynamic which rightly applied can change the very face of the globe. All that is called for is the application of this dynamic in the light of the modern situation in which the church finds itself. This calls for a thing, ever old, yet ever new - a pilgrim's faith. This faith, Rev. J. W. Stevenson explains as follows:

"The essence of life is rapid movement, spiritual as well as physical. We go on pilgrimage by aeroplane. And the faith we need is not so much a solid rampart behind which we can crouch down safely among 'ologies' and 'isms', but a parachute which will bear us up when we must needs leap out of our aeroplanes into desperate space. It will be experimental rather than theological. It will mean adventure, living and thinking dangerously, being perhaps ready to lose the whole world, as far as dear traditions go, so that we may gain our own souls. And just because it must be ready to let us go so much when God's law of change commands, it must hold all the more to His Spirit, who is to lead us ever further from considering whether we ought to worship Him 'in this mountain or at Jerusalem' to a worship which shall be purely in the Spirit and in all truth." (61)

For such a new evangelization of the world no program can be laid down. Programs, all-inclusive, will develop as men more and more accept the challenge. That challenge can be put succinctly as, "The challenge of a sacrificial return to Jesus' way of living regardless of the cost." The New Evangelism will be the attempt of the church to meet that challenge. In proportion as it is met will the evangelistic fires be rekindled to burn with brighter blaze.

"This spiritual and social awakening may come early or it may come late. It may hasten or tarry, but come it surely will when the conditions are fulfilled. History will repeat itself, God will fulfill himself, wherever two or three seek him and find they may know again a new reformation." (62)

Man must use to the full his God-given energies, seeking through the full power of his intelligence to find God's purpose and to carry it out. However, the real renewal will come not alone through man. The reformation of the future will come, as foretold in the words of the prophet:

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"NOT BY MIGHT, NOR BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD."

NOTES

Chapter X.

1. Zur erneuerung und ausgestaltung des Gottesdienstes, p. 1. Quoted by H. H. Farmer: The task of modern evangelization, Rev. of the Churches - Vol. 6 - (New Series) - (1929) - p. 544
2. For example: F. G. Beardsley: History of American revivals, p. 85ff., Ibid: The revival of the future, Bibliotheca Sacra - Vol. 86 - (1929) - pp. 85-92; A. D. Belden: George Whitefield - the awakener, p. 1ff.; J. M. Campbell: The next great revival, Meth. Rev. - Vol. 109 - (1926) - p. 187-199; R. B. Jones: Rent Heavens, p. 95ff.
3. Religious revival, the necessity and means, Rev. of the Churches, - Vol. 3 - (1926) - p. 186
4. Cf. H. H. Farmer: op. cit. p. 544ff.
5. Fourteen years after the armistice, Federal Council Bulletin - Vol. 15 - No. 9 - (1932) - p. 3
6. Ibid: loc. cit.
7. G. A. Coe: What is Christian education? p. 260
8. In this connection see And Who is my neighbor, passim.
9. A. G. Way: An uprising of spiritual forces, pp. 60-61
10. G. F. Kenngott: The effect of the social movement upon the churches, Harvard Theol. Rev. - Vol. 9 - (1916) - p. 330
11. Willard E. Shelton: The importance of being earnest, Christian Evangelist - Vol. 68 - (1931) - p. 1165
12. F. E. Johnson: (Ed.) The social work of the churches, p. 16
13. A. G. Way: op. cit. p. 61
14. Christian sociology. (Lectures delivered at New College, Edinburgh - 1930-31)
15. Thus we find some sections of the British church keenly alive to the need of religion in solving industrial and economic problems. "The Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry, which submitted in 1919 an elaborate report on Christianity and Industrial Problems was in reality the precursor of the American Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook."
"A group of twenty British Quaker employers held discussions

during 1917 and 1918 at the conclusion of which they published a statement concerning the duties of Christian employers in which they took advance ground. . . . A part of their conclusions constitutes a Christian testimony that has far-reaching spiritual significance."

The Lambeth Conference, which met in England in 1920, declared that "an outstanding and pressing duty of the Church is to convince its members of the necessity of nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life." F. E. Johnson: The teaching of the Protestant church, Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Social Science - Vol. 103 - (1922) - pp. 82-83

In the United States sections of the church have found expression through the Federal Council of Churches. For a study of this see C. S. MacFarland: The progress of church federation, passim.

16. J. C. Carlile: Ethical leadership and the modern ministry, Christian World Pulpit - Vol. 103 - (1923) - p. 74
17. F. Smith: A history of English Elementary Education, passim.
18. P. A. Schilpp: Do we need a new religion? p. 54
19. Ibid: loc. cit.
20. J. H. Holmes: New churches for old, p. 26
21. For a rather extended development of this thesis see H. F. Ward: Social science and religion, J. of Rel. - Vol. 6 - (1922) - pp. 476-489
22. The truth of this has been borne out by the programs of the United Church of Scotland and the United Church of Canada. Both of these churches have been re-inforced in their social programs since unification. The lack of such unification has proved a great handicap to social action on the part of the churches in the United States. As one example of this C. Kirkpatrick states that, "Even the statement issued by the Federal Council of Churches in 1921 protesting against the use of the open-shop slogan to break up labor organization had little effect though it was theoretically the voice of twenty million people." Religion in human affairs, p. 446 (The italics are mine)
23. P. A. Schilpp: op. cit. p. 48. He shows further that the intention of Martin Luther was to institute a reformation within the Catholic church; that he never left the Roman Church, but was excommunicated. The same was true in the case of John Wesley. Again the Church turned a deaf ear to its prophet of God and servant of man. No reformation within the Established Church took place. op. cit. pp. 48-49

24. And this is not the selfish salvation offered by the revivalist, but Christian salvation which means precisely "salvation from selfishness." P. A. Schilpp: op. cit. p. 46
25. Ibid: pp. 46-47
26. A message to the churches in a time of crisis, Federal Council Bulletin - Vol. 16 - No. 1 - (1932) - p. 4
27. J. McC. Roots: An apostle to youth, Atlantic - Vol. 142 - (1928) - p. 907
28. Ibid: loc. cit.
29. "They who suppose that there is anything new in Buchmanism are greatly mistaken. Dr. Buchman is himself a Lutheran, and what he has imbibed, consciously or unconsciously, is the pietism which inspired the Lutheran Church during the 18th., century. Philip Jacob Spener, like Frank D. Buchman, held house parties, outside the churches. He urged that the Bible should be studied. He insisted that the priesthood of the church, being universal, should be shared by the laity with the clergy. . . . He urged that there should be an emphasis upon the devotional in the teaching of religion in colleges." P. W. Wilson: The urgency of redemption, Meth. Rev. - Vol. 113 - (1930) - p. 804
30. Cf. G. G. Atkins: Religion in our times, p. 320
31. J. McC. Roots: op. cit. p. 811
32. In the Spring of 1931 Dr. Buchman and some of the leaders of the movement, having returned from a successful campaign in South Africa, invaded Edinburgh and held testimony meetings and house-parties as in other places. When the writer left Scotland the movement was enjoying a vigorous growth in Scotland.
A similar company recently visited most of the large cities in the United States, with seeming success.
33. J. McC. Roots: op. cit. pp. 811-812
34. Ibid: p. 812
35. Cf. Ibid: p. 810
36. Ibid: pp. 813-814. While this is held in theory, in practice the movement appears decidedly individualistic at times. Thus we are told: "Apparently an effort is being made to introduce a more social note into the movement. One evening (at a house-party at Briarcliff Manor, New York, attended by 400 people) it was announced that the speakers would tell how 'the groups' had affect-

ed the life of cities and even of countries, but they soon relapsed into the usual type of personal testimony. The experience of the individual is so overwhelming that it crowds other interests out of his consciousness." John R. Scotford: Christianity a la Buchman, The Christian - Vol. 7 - (1932) - p. 443

37. J. McC. Roots: op. cit. p. 814

38. Cf. A. D. Belden: op. cit., J. McC. Roots: op. cit.

39. For a thorough, but perhaps somewhat biased criticism of the movement see C. W. Ferguson: The confusion of tongues, Chap. on "Buchmanism"

40. G. G. Atkins: op. cit. p. 323. A recent student of the movement says: "To imagine that an 'evening dress evangelism' which talks easily of 'changed lives' to groups of the rich and comfortable, with the shades pulled down on those social maladjustments which condition the spiritual life of millions is an adequate evangelism for our times, is vanity. The pivotal question is, What does the changed life mean? Is it a change to a thorough-going spirit of love, honest enough and deep enough to question in the name and spirit of Christ the whole code of a profit-driven society? For it must be remembered that religion which gives comfort without rebuke may be one of the most immoral things in the world." H. C. Luccock: Buchmanism - an escape, The World Tomorrow - Vol. 16 - (1933) - p. 63

41. J. McC. Roots: op. cit. p. 808. "Through what is commonly known as 'Buchmanism' lives are undoubtedly changed. Many sophisticated and blase men and women of education and means are finding a consuming purpose. Young people are discovering a form of spiritual adventuring which is far more exciting than liquor and sex indulgence. These people are happy. They are having a gorgeous time living. It is a joy to have them around. The movement is commended by the lives of those who are in it. J. R. Scotford: loc. cit. For studies of some of the people whose lives have been changed through this movement see S. M. Shoemaker: Children of the second birth. Also his Twice-born ministers. For a sympathetic and yet comprehensive study of the movement see A. J. Russell: For sinners only.

42. Dr. Donald Fraser: "Rise and walk"; our message to a weary world, Scots Observer - Sept. 17, 1931 - p. 9

43. The Forward Movement, Scots Observer - Nov. 19, 1931 - p. 16
(The italics are mine)

44. Professor Paterson's searching analysis, Scots Observer - Oct. 29, 1931 - p. 7

45. Dr. Donald Fraser: loc. cit.
46. Wm. Axling: The Kingdom of God campaign in Japan, Miss. Rev. - Vol. 53 - (1930) - p. 650
47. T. Kagawa: God is not dead! The Christian - Vol. 7 - (1931) - p. 812
48. Cf. Luke 4:18-19
49. The full-orbed gospel, Federal Council Bulletin - Vol. 14 - No. 6 - (1931) - p. 4
50. For an interesting account of such a use of the daily press, see W. H. M. Walton: The secular press as an evangelistic agency, Inter. Rev. of Missions - Vol. 18 - (1929) - pp. 111-120
51. Wm. Axling: op. cit. p. 652
52. Federations stress evangelism, Federal Council Bulletin - Vol. 14 - No. 9 - (1931) - p. 17
53. H. E. Titus: Evangelistic adult religious education, Meth. Rev. - Vol. 109 - (1926) - p. 268
54. What is Christian education? p. 296
55. Cf. Ibid: p. 63ff.
56. O. C. Helming: Modern evangelism in the light of modern psychology, Bib. World - Vol. 36 - (1910) - pp. 305-306
57. Cf. B. Brasol: The elements of crime, p. 112
58. It is unfortunate that this division has so often been evident. The Barthian school seems anxious to further emphasize it. Cf. H. Rolston: A conservative looks at Barth and Brunner, passim.
59. In this connection see H. F. Ward: Social science and religion, J. of Rel. - Vol. 6 - (1922) - pp. 476-489. It is interesting to note that the study of human motives is at least as old as Aristotle's Rhetoric, and the last two decades have seen a renewed interest in this study. In this connection see, A. Holmes: The psychological theory of religious motivation, Rel. Educ. - Vol. 25 - (1930) - pp. 440-445; A. J. Snow: An approach to the psychology of motives, Amer. J. of Psych. - Vol. 37 - (1926) - pp. 129-131; L. T. Troland: The fundamentals of human motivation.
60. G. A. Coe: The motives of men, p. 93. For an excellent discussion of this drifting see Chap. 11 - "Some Notes on the Psychology of Motivation"

60-a. Ibid: p. 94

61. The healing of the nation, pp. 138-139 (The italics are mine)

62. S. Eddy: New challenges to faith, p. 236

63. Zechariah 4:6

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The writer found it very difficult to locate certain material from the references given by some other writers, because in many cases the surname only of the author was given. In other cases the name of the publisher would have been of great help.

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A P P E N D I X

STUDIES OF VARIOUS REVIVALS

The following selections from the bibliography provide valuable material for the study of various revivals.

A. General studies.

1. American revivals.
(136) - (155) - (255) - (317) - (357)
2. British revivals.
(185)
3. Scottish revivals.
(104) - (146) - (376)
4. Revivals in many countries.
(229) - (263) - (529)

B. Specific revivals.

1. The Great Awakening.
(117) - (191) - (224) - (266) - (404) - (464) - (572) - (581)
2. The Wesleyan revival.
(71) - (171) - (376) - (439)
3. The Kentucky revival.
(124) - (239) - (389) - (520) - (526) - (547)
4. College revivals.
(30)
5. The work of Nettleton and Finney.
(203) - (204) - (637)
6. The Lay revival.
(25) - (138) - (225) - (631)
7. The revivals under D. L. Moody.
(90) - (178) - (254) - (374) - (411)
8. The recent Welsh revival.
(86) - (349) - (417) - (480) - (533)
9. Modern revivalism.
(98) - (160) - (212) - (213) - (388) - (632)